HISTORY OF DUNGANNON

By John J. Marshall.

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The Seat of the O'Neills AND Town of the Volunteers

With Appendixes of the Dungannon Depositions of 1641: complete List of Members of Parliament for the Borough, with Biographical Notes; and Bibliography of Dungannon Printing. . . . .

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"History of Charlemont Fort and Borough"
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etc., etc.

Reprinted from "The Tyrone Courier and Dungannon News."

Dungannon:
THE TYRONE PRINTING COMPANY, LTD.
1929.

TO

J. C. SIMPSON,

on whose initiative this history of the town of the Volunteers was written, it is dedicated by his friend

THE AUTHOR.

HISTORY OF DUNGANNON

The Seat of the O'Neills

AND

TOWN OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the name ; Genánn, friend of Cuculain ; the Knights of the Red Branch ; the coming of the O'Neills.

Ulster possesses many historic towns that enshrine in their annals stories of love, of war, and of human passion—Armagh, the ancient, hallowed by St. Patrick's sainted footsteps, Derry the heroic and Enniskillen the valiant. Among these Dungannon has its own peculiar place, linking as it does the last stand of Celtic rule with the dawn of modern freedom.

In that dim twilight of history, where tradition mingles with authentic fact the name of Dungannon emerges as the residence of Genánn—Dun Genánn, or Gannon's Dun. A Dun was the residence of a king or chief, and consisted of a circular raised mound, either natural or artificial. According to the Brehon law it should have at least two surrounding walls or mounds, with a deep trench between filled with water, and outside these possibly a strong palisade of stakes for greater security. Round the great Duns or residences of these important personages were grouped the timber dwellings of the **fudirs** and other dependents who were not of the immediate household, forming a kind of village. Immediately outside the door of the rath or dun was an ornamental lawn ; beyond this a large level sward (faitche, pronounced **faha**) for athletic exercises and games of various kinds.

The original Dungannon was somewhat as described, and had another and probably earlier name—Dun Cain—pleasant fort, before the overshadowing personality of Genánn gave the present name to the town. Genánn, according to the Dinsenchus was the son of Cathbad, surnamed Iarn-glunah (Iron-knee), whose residence was in Glen-na-mohar (the dog's glen). Cathbad was chief Druid and counsellor to Conor Mac Nessa, High King of Ulster, and was also a mighty wizard.

His son was named " the sunny faced Genánn," and also Genánn Glunmar—swift knee. In Ulster idiom, " soople," swift, flexible expresses the meaning better than literary English. Genánn, was the school companion and close friend of Cuculain, and like him too, one of the famous knights of the Red Branch, having their headquarters at Crieve Roe, adjoining the Royal residence of Emain Macha, whose remains are known as the Navan Ring, situated a short distance from Armagh on the western side.

The period about the beginning of the first century—Ireland's heroic age, and the ear attuned can still catch adown the centuries the jingle of harness and the clash of brazen shields, mingling with the war chaunt of heroes as in their chariots they are borne to battle. What mighty names are amongst their thundering ranks ? Cuculain mightest of the champions of the Red Branch, who has been raised by tradition to the rank of demi-god ; the chivalrous and princely Fergus MacRoy ; Leary Buadach (the victorious) ; Kilkar the great, son of Uther, his broad breast hidden by the Comla Catha (Gate of Battle) ; Condera of the Dark Red Shield ; Conell Carna, and many more renowned in chronicle and song, the flower of Ulster, when, in that warlike age the swelling might of the Clanna Rury rolled over and shed itself with a noise of battle, and the shining of heroic deeds that still send their shadowy gleam adown the ages from the misty past.

The pride of Ulster's chivalry were the comrades of Genánn who had his residence on this lofty hill commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country. Eastward, the great lough with its legend haunted waters stretched far away. To the south the fertile plain of Moy, and like a silver thread, the bright way where, from his fountains the Avonmore (Blackwater) sought Lough Neagh. It was indeed a goodly prospect that met the eye from Genánn's Dun :—

" Here was a glorious tower, and there a proud hero dwelt—
The sun loved to light the spear that leaped from the hand of the Celt."

Such the proud associations of Dungannon, where Cuculain, Ulster's hero champion, may have oftimes visited his friend Genánn, travelling over from Crieve Roe in his shining war chariot drawn by

his famous steeds, Liath (grey) Macha and Black Sanglan. "Gigantic they are in stature and for beauty, like those weird horses, which they say are seen in the sacred mountains at night grazing beside some fairy lough. The chariot was worthy of these giant war horses, having wheels of burnished brass, and the revolving spokes sending forth fiery flashes. The body is green, and the pole ornamented with bands of silver and where it is made fast to the yoke there is shining gold."

When the end of Ulster's great hero was drawing nigh, it was his school boy friend and comrade of later years who was sent with a company of the standing battalion to meet and conduct in safety Cuculain to Emain Macha, for he was menaced by the machinations of the wizard clan Cailitin. In the banqueting hall Cuculain sat in his place in the Champion's throne, and there too was Genánn " of the lightsome countenance," very dear he was to Cuculain, and he sat next to the champion. Both Cathbad and Genánn exercised all their magic powers for the protection of the Ulster hero, but without avail, for their power was broken by the enchantments of the children of Cailitin. So Cuculain, in his chariot driven by Láeg, son of Riangowa, travelled south till he came to the plain of Murthemney (Co. Louth), where he rallied the flying, scattered battalions,of the Red Branch, and led them once more against the hosts of Meave, by whom, after eight days of heroic fighting, they were at last overwhelmed and Cuculain himself wounded unto death.

Whether Genànn fell in the fight, or lived to join the Ulidian host that returned from Alba and exacted a bloody eric on the other three provinces in " The Rout of Conell Carna," history is silent and tradition dumb. Yet what a host of glowing memories still remain of Genànn's time ; pagan traditions with the tramp of heroes in them to fill and delight the imagination. At the head of the Red Branch heroes Conor himself, ablest of the Irian kings, with his spear and sword, Flight and Victory, and his still more famous shield, Ocean, with the blue chased waves around its rim that roared when its bearer was in danger, and the ' three waves of Erin ' roared responsive.

" Moaned each sea-chafed promontory, soared and wailed white Cleena's wave,
Rose the Tonn of Inver Rory, and through columned chasm and cave;
Reaching deep with roll of anger, till Dunseverick's dungeons reel'd,
Roared responsive to the clangour struck from Conor's magic shield."

The age of paladins with its flashing glories grows dim and wanes, and as the deep heroic note fails a new cycle arises, in which veritable history remains silent and the name of Dungannon slumbers for

centuries, until the princely O'Neills made it their home and seat of government.

In the earlier centuries of the Christian era the Hy Niall princes of Ulster had their residence at Aileach, in the peninsula of Inishowen north-west of Derry, and that place continued to be their chief abode till the twelfth century. It is recorded that Patrick went to Aileach of the Kings, and blessed the fortress there, and left his flagstone there, and prophesied that the kings and ordained persons out of Aileach would be over Erin.

Prior to the ninth century the Kings of Aileach, who frequently became High Kings of Ireland, chose as their place of inauguration the Rath of Tullahog, "because in its proud land is assumed the sovereignity of the men of Erin."

A typical entry may be quoted: In 937 Murkertagh [of the Leather Cloaks] succeeded to the kingship of Ulster on the death of Fergan, and was crowned at Tullahog by the Archbishop of Armagh.

When in 1101 Murkertagh O'Brien marched north with an overwhelming army and destroyed Aileach, the fortress palace of the northern Hy-Niall, in revenge for the destruction of Kincora thirteen years before, the Ulster kings did not restore it as a residence and appear to have moved inland to Tyrone upwards of half a century prior to this happening, as Ardgall, Prince of Aileach, died in 1064 at Tullahoge, and was buried at Armagh.

In 1188 there was a raid by the foreigners of Magh-Coba [Iveagh, Co. Down] and a party of the Ui Echach of Ulidia into Tyrone until they reached Leim-mic-Neill (the leap of O'Neill, the son of Niall—grandson, according to O'Donovan's Four Masters, III. 81—of Niall, King of Ireland, 818-19). The place has not been identified, but is supposed to have been near Dungannon, which does not seem to have become an O'Neill residence till the second half of the thirteenth century. In the year 1318 Donal O'Neill's appeal to Pope John XXII is dated from Dungannon, which from this time onwards, except for occasional intervals, became the headquarters and seat of government of the O'Neills, Princes of Ulster.

CHAPTER II.

1432—1523.

The making of an O'Neill; alliance with the Geraldines; death of Con More; Dungannon Castle besieged; O'Donnell raids into Tyrone; Con Bacagh elected O'Neill.

The concluding paragraph of the previous chapter contains the only traceable reference to Dungannon during the fourteenth century

and in the fifteenth century the Annals are largely taken up with internecine contests for supremacy between ambitious members of the sept. Thus in the year 1432 O'Neill—Donall, son of Henry O'Neill, was slain by the O'Cahans, in O'Cahan's country. He was succeeded as King of Ulster by Eoghan, who in 1455 was deposed by his son Henry. His inauguration is thus characteristically chronicled in the **Annals of Ulster** :—

"A.D. 1455. Ua Neill, that is, Henry, son of Eogan, son of Niall Ua Neill junior, was made king this year over Ulster, namely a month before Lammas precisely, Ua Cathain and Mac Uidhir [Maguire], and Mac Mathgamna [MacMahon], and all the Ua Neill Clans and the successor of St. Patrick [the Archbishop of Armagh] went with him to Tulach-og and he was made king by them there honourably, by the will of God and men, and so on."

Towards the close of this century the references to Dungannon become more frequent, thus the historian did not consider it beneath his dignity to record that in the year 1485, "Eogan, son of Brian [O'Neill], a man wise in council, slipped in the snow, going from the town to his own house and died of it." Possibly his way lay down Scotch-street, but there were no public houses in Dungannon in those days.

Con O'Neill, Tanist of Tyrone, married Eleanora sister of Garrett Fitzgerald, known as the great Earl of Kildare, thus ensuring the support of the powerful Geraldine clan. This was frequently afforded in Con's wars with the O'Donnells, into whose hands he was so unfortunate as to fall in 1481. He was ransomed from them in 1483 upon which his father, Henry, resigned the chieftainship, and Con More was inaugurated O'Neill in his stead. In 1489, the year of his father's death, Con erected a Franciscan Friary near his fortress at Dungannon, which he richly endowed, and according to Ware, another at Ballinasaggart.

Con More [Con the Great] was treacherously murdered by his brother Henry in 1493, and was interred with great pomp in the Friary of Dungannon which he founded. A civil war then ensued in Tyrone between Henry and his brother Donnell. Henry was at first successful, and Donnell whom Lady Eleanora, the late O'Neill's wife appears to have favoured, could only maintain a desultory opposition. Donnell, with his adherents in the clan, and the MacMahons, made a determined effort in the year 1495 to capture Dungannon, but after being around the castle for some time were obliged to raise the siege and draw off. Their opponents, the followers of Henry Oge, meantime were not idle, and taking them by surprise in a night attack on their camp at Cross-Cavanagh (a townland in the parish of Pomeroy) slew a great number of them including Hugh, son of MacMahon, capturing the greater part of their horses and armour.

In 1497 a peace was made between the two O'Neills, Donnell and Henry Oge, but Turlough and Con the sons of the murdered chieftain who still cherished feelings of revenge for their father's death four years before, in 1498, suddenly fell upon the murderer in the house of one of the O'Neills situated in Toaghie,which is the ancient name for the territory comprised in the presently barony of Armagh. This action set the country aflame once more ; Con and Turlough with their allies laid siege to the castle of Dungannon, where they were surprised by the adherents of Henry and defeated. The young O'Neills then sought aid from O'Donnell, and from their uncle, the Earl of Kildare, now Lord Deputy. Kildare in 1498 invaded Tyrone accompanied by a large contingent of the southern Irish, and was joined by O'Donnell and Maguire. Donnell O'Neill with his sons and all his adherents also joined the Lord Deputy's army, which, arriving at Dungannon, the castle was taken by means of cannon, then a novelty in warfare, on the morrow. In the capture of the castle, many prisoners were liberated including a son of O'Donnell, which perhaps had something to do with the chieftain of Tirconnell's alacrity in rendering assistance to Donnell O'Neill and the sons of Con. The Lord Deputy then proceeded to Omagh, the castle of which was also surrendered to him. After placing the castle of Dungannon in Donnell's keeping the hosts departed to their several places of abode.

Donnell appears to have succeeded his brother Henry in the chieftainship, but there was no peace for the distracted country, and in 1500 O'Donnell (Red Hugh) made a hosting into Tyrone in aid of Donnell and the sons of Con, in which he burned Dungannon and broke down the old castle. On his way homeward he burned the Crannog of Lough Leary and returned safely to his own house. This crannog was named after Leaghuire, a Red Branch Knight, and was situated in what is now known as Lough Mary in Baronscourt demesne.

During his tenure of the chieftainship Donnell found the position of O'Neill anything but a bed of roses. In 1504 a treacherous attack was made upon him by Teige O'Hagan and his sons in O'Neill's own castle of Dungannon, which they captured. However their success was of short duration, the castle being retaken when Teige and two of his sons were hanged, and his third son maimed. This was to prevent his being elected to the captaincy of Tullahog, no person having a blemish being eligible for the office of chief, hence the more humane of successful candidates sometimes maimed those whom they considered dangerous rivals instead of summarily executing or causing them to be slain.

On the 11th July, 1505, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, chieftain of Tirconnell died, and the Four Masters, as in duty bound, pronounce a

most glowing eulogium, styling him "the Augustus of the north-west of Europe, etc." He was succeeded by his son, Hugh Oge (oge, young, or junior) who signalised his accession by leading an army into Tyrone and burning Dungannon. This notwithstanding his father's friendship for Donnell O'Neill, whom he assisted in obtaining the chieftainship of Tyrone. Evidently the O'Neills were taken by surprise as it is recorded that he traversed the country from the Abhain-more (great river, now Blackwater) inwards without opposition. After this raid, which was a customary performance of a Tanist on succeeding to the chieftainship, he went to Kilmacrenan where he was inaugurated as O'Donnell.

The O'Neill sept had been so weakened by their internal feuds that when in 1507 O'Donnell again invaded Tyrone, encamped around the castle of Dungannon and slew numbers of the people of the town, O'Neill was obliged to make peace with him.

Donnell O'Neill found rest after his stormy reign in 1509, and forthwith trouble arose, the Earl of Kildare coming to the assistance of his nephews, but ere he reached the north they had got hold of the castle of Dungannon. The Earl went from that and took the castle of Omagh, which was held by another sept of the O'Neills. Art, son of Hugh, succeeded Donnell in the lordship of Tyrone, but enjoyed no more peaceful tenure of office than his predecessor, as in 1512 O'Donnell after his return from a pilgrimage to Rome made an expedition into Connaught where he defeated Mac William Burke, after which he made an expedition into Tyrone which he ravaged and burned until he reached Dungannon. The Donegal chieftain with his forces remained a week in the country, ravaging and destroying it, until O'Neill made peace by relinquishing in favour of O'Donnell all the claims that had been in dispute—the overlordship of Kinel-moen (Raphoe), Inishowen, and all Fermanagh. After which O'Donnell went to Omagh, and in the space of a week re-erected the castle there which had been demolished by the Earl of Kildare when he captured it in 1509. Art O'Neill, lord of Tir-owen, died in Dungannon in the year 1513, and was succeeded in the lordship by Art Oge, who was inaugurated at Tullahog with the usual ceremonies, supported by the greater part of the clan. On his accession he took the castle of Dungannon from the sons of Art, his predecessor, with the help of his uncle, the Earl of Kildare, who marched north with a host to his aid. Con More and his sons might well say of the Geraldine :—

"Not for rite or feast ye stayed, when friend or kin were pressed ;
And foemen fled when "Crom Abu," bespoke your lance in rest."

Although Art Oge had been elected to the chieftainship by the majority of the Kinel-Owen, there was as usual a discontented

minority led by Hugh, son of Donnell O'Neill (1498-1509), who put their opposition into practical form by taking up arms, when they were so disastrously defeated by O'Neill " that the lordship of Tir-Eoghain remained with him without dispute from that out." In this estimate the contemporary compiler of the Annals of Ulster was too optimistic as it turned out, for in 1517 O'Donnell at the instigation of the dissentient faction again invaded Tir-Owen, burning the country until he reached Killetra (barony of Loughinsholin, south-west of Derry). Here he remained five nights until the O'Neill faction whom he had come to support joined him. The augmented army then continued their burning and spoiling till they reached Dungannon, which O'Neill was obliged to abandon, whereupon they burned the town completely and occupied the castle. The Lady O'Neill, widow of Con More, was not inclined to see her grandson, Art Oge, the O'Neill, treated in such fashion, accordingly she invoked the assistance of her nephew, the Earl of Kildare, who, on his way northward broke down the castle of Dundrum and ravaged the territory of Magennis, after which he proceeded to Dungannon, the castle of which he broke down, probably by the use of cannon, and ravaged the country. In this year (1517) John O'Neill, of Kenard (Caledon) who was Tanist of Tyrone, died, and was succeeded as Tanist or heir-apparent, by O'Neill's brother, Con Bacagh (lame Con).

According to the Brehon law any physical deformity rendered a candidate ineligible for the position of head of the clan. We have already seen how O'Neill (Donnell) having hanged Teige O'Hagan and his two sons for treachery maimed his third son for this purpose. However, the Tanist of Tyrone, Con Bacagh, in spite of his lameness was inaugurated O'Neill on the death of Art Oge in 1519. This appointment is most interesting as indicating the tendency amongst the reigning families to change from gaelic to feudal custom, so as to retain the succession in their own line to the exclusion of other families possessing equal rights to the leadership of the sept. Con Bacagh apparently reigned over Tyrone for four years in comparative peace, when in 1523 war once more broke out between O'Neill and O'Donnell in which O'Donnell (Hugh Duff, son of Hugh Roe) after the usual fashion, ravaged and burned the whole country from the Finn valley to Dungannon. On their way thither the town (residence, or mansion) of MacDonnell at Knocknaclogha (Cnoc-an-Cluiche, the Hill of Games), about three miles from Pomeroy, was burned by them. A beautiful herb garden there, not being of an inflammable nature, was cut down and destroyed by O'Donnell's forces. They remained for some time encamped at Tullahog, ravaging and plundering the country round ; which being accomplished they proceeded to Carnteel where they committed great depredations and killed or destroyed great numbers of cattle. The Irish usually made a prey of the cattle

and other live stock of their enemies, driving them off to their own territory, but should it not be convenient to do so, as was apparently the case in the present instance, they houghed them with their slaughtering knives. (See F.M. A.D. 1543).

The MacDonnell whose mansion was destroyed was hereditary captain of O'Neill's gallowglasses (heavy armed foot-soldiers). His ancestors came over from Scotland in the thirteenth century, and in 1265 founded the Franciscan Friary at Armagh, where many of his descendants and kinsmen were buried. The MacDonnells were originally Airghiallans (territory now represented by the diocese of Clogher), deriving from Godfrey, son of Fergus, Prince of Airghialla, who was sent with a force to Scotland to aid King Kenneth Mac Alpin, by the monarch Niall of Callan, in 835. The herb garden that was destroyed indicates that the family physican had his residence convenient to that of the chief, and if he did not become a skilled leech it was not for want of practice as doctor to O'Neills fighting men.

In the seventeenth century Knocknaclogha had a further title to fame as the haunt of a noted outlaw known as Shane Bernagh, who was a coadjutor of Redmond O'Hanlon. In this townland is situated "Shane Bernagh's chair." a rocky eminence overlooking an ancient highway from Dungannon to Omagh. Tradition has it that he never had any teeth, yet so strong was the bony formation of his jaws that he could bite through a thin plate of iron as if it were gingerbread. He was finally shot and his followers dispersed.

CHAPTER III.
1527—1542.

The Lord Deputy's invasion a failure; Ballydonnelly castle demolished; another invasion of Tyrone; Dungannon destroyed; O'Neill protects the young Geraldine; submission of O'Neill to the Lord Deputy; visits England and is made Earl of Tyrone.

In 1527 Con Bacagh's relative and ally, the Earl of Kildare, was sent for to attend before the English Council and answer the charges of misgovernment of which he had been accused by his enemies. Upon his arrival in London he was committed to the Tower. While Kildare was confined in England his family and adherents followed the Geraldine policy of stirring up rebellion in Ireland which the temporary rulers were quite unable to suppress, accordingly Henry

VIII thought it prudent to allow the Earl his liberty, but appointed Sir William Skeffington as Lord Deputy in 1529, and permitted Kildare to return to Ireland some months later. During the Earl's absence in England O'Neill had been doing what he could for his kinsman by keeping the north in a disturbed state. His great rival, O'Donnell, resolving to profit by this met Skeffington at Drogheda, and entered into a treaty by which he promised the King allegiance and bound himself to the Deputy against all his Majesty's enemies. At the same time he covenanted for several of the O'Neill's urriaghs (tributary or under chiefs), as well as for himself. Skeffington bound himself to give them such protection as was due to the King's subjects. This last was a very necessary stipulation, as O'Neill apparently lost no time in proceeding to bring his recalcitrant urriaghs to heel. In consequence of these proceedings of Con Bacagh, Skeffington in fulfilment of his agreement, in 1531, led an army into Ulster accompanied by Kildare and Ossory. This army burned and ravaged what was then the southern portion of O'Neill's territory, The English forces were joined at Kenard (Caledon) by the army of O'Donnell and Niall Oge O'Neill. The castle of Kenard was broken down by them. This was the end of their achievement as O'Neill was in front of them with a large force, and the invaders were obliged to return as they came, without O'Neill having made either peace or truce with them.

In addition to the menace of invasion Con Bacagh had internal difficulties as well. His Tanist, Niall Oge, in 1531 assaulted Ballydonnelly (Baile-ui-Donnghaile, now Castlecaulfield), and demolished the castle, making prisoner of the eldest son of O'Neill who was being fostered by O'Donnelly, and carried him off, together with the horses and other spoil of the town. The boy who was thus carried off as a hostage was Shane, known in history as Shane the Proud (Shane-an-Diomais), he was also known as Shane Donnellyeach, from being fostered by the O'Donnellys, who in after years were ever his devoted adherents through fortune good or ill. Probably the matter was arranged as there is no further record of his detention or liberation. At any rate, even in his youth Shane would have been a hot handful to retain in captivity.

The Earl of Kildare finding Sir William Skeffington an obstacle to his reinstatement in his former post of Lord Deputy, now threw all his weight into the scale against him, and managed his affairs so well that he crossed the channel early in 1532, and after six months residence at Court returned with his patent as Chief Governor. Meantime in Kildare's absence, probably on account of the disciplinary measures adopted by Con Bacagh to reduce his refractory vassal chiefs to obedience, Skeffington made another military expedition, the most formidable that had ever invaded Tyrone. In

addition to the forces of the Pale, the Deputy was joined by Maguire, O'Reilly, MacMahon, the Clannaboy, several minor O'Neill septs, and the Clanna Rury (the septs of Antrim and Down). In the words of the Annalist :—" For the Gael of the half of Conn [the northern half of Ireland] except a few, turned on O'Neill. These hosts went side for side to Dungannon to meet each other so that the town both wood and stone, both houses and furniture, both fort and fair habitation, was broken and dismembered, destroyed and deleted, overturned and prostrate, so that the Foreigner or Gael of those who saw it ever before recognised it on on the third day. The whole territory from border to border was harried and raided, punished and wasted, burned and totally destroyed by them. The herds and other cattle of the territory of O'Neill went in their entirety in fright and constant progress until they reached the mountain of Bith(Slieve Beagh on the confines of Tyrone and Monaghan). . . . These Gael we mentioned before followed them until they overtook them, and carried off with them this cattle spoil hard to count until they came among the Foreigners [the English portion of the Deputy's army]. the beef [a cow or ox] was for a groat, and a beef for every groat with the Foreigners that night. . . . The foreigners returned to their keeps and the Gael to their good houses with victory and overthrow and so on."

Whether as a result of the invasion of Tir-owen by the Lord Deputy, or from natural causes, at any rate it is recorded that in this year (1532) " Felim, son of Owen O'Neill, the Poor died ; to wit, that man who took the oath that there would not come in to Tir-Owen in his lifetime a Connallian [O'Donnell] host of which he would not kill a horse or man, and that was fulfilled."

The return of the Earl of Kildare to Ireland as Lord Deputy, in 1532, put an end to hostile invasions of Tir-owen, and when in 1534 Kildare was summoned once more to London to answer for his misgovernment of Ireland, his son " Silken Thomas " whom his father had appointed to act as Deputy during his absence, had Con Bacagh's sympathy and support when he went into rebellion on the false report of his father's death. O'Neill was, however, hampered by the want of unity amongst the northern septs ; O'Donnell, O'Neill of Clannaboy, Maguire and others being ready to make what capital they could out of the rebellion by siding with the Government. By the summer of 1535, Con Bacagh, seeing that the game was up came to Skeffington, who had returned as Lord Deputy, and at Drogheda took the oath of allegiance. At the same time he entered into an indenture under which he retained certain privileges, and in return agreed to help the Deputy and his successors in as complete and ample a manner as any of his predecessors had helped any previous Deputy or Lord Lieutenant. Skeffington died in 1536, and was suc-

ceeded by Lord Leonard Grey, whose mode of government was chiefly by raids and fillibustering expeditons. In 1538 Con Bacagh complaining that his black-rent was unpaid, plundered the borders of the Pale and threatened to burn Drogheda, but on the men of Dundalk and Ardee rallying to the Lord Deputy's summons O'Neill became quieter. Meantime a community of interests united the hitherto warring septs of O'Neill and O'Donnell against the English Government, and apparently Con Bacagh was for a time the protector of young Gerald Fitzgerald, whose career reads more like a romance than sober fact ere he was restored to his inheritance as Earl of Kildare. In the autumn of 1538 Grey made one of his customary raids against O'Reilly of Breffney (Co. Cavan), but O'Reilly prudently submitted and Grey journeyed to Dundalk with a view to meeting O'Neill. The Tir-owen chieftain either having received warning, or from his natural distrust of the Lord Deputy, did not keep the appointment, and in the event he acted wisely, for Grey says he was determined to take Gerald if possible, ' and if not by the oath that I have made to my sovereign lord and master, I would have taken the said O'Neill and kept him a prisoner till he had caused the said Gerald to be delivered to my hands.'

Had O'Neill been confiding enough he might very well have been captured by the Deputy, but Con Bacagh with the best will in the world could not have delivered the youthful Geraldine into his hands as he was at that time after many adventures safe in Tirconnell under the watchful guardianship of his aunt, Lady Eleanor O'Donnell. In the course of another year, Lady Eleanor fearing that some of the kidnapping plots might prove successful, had the heir to the Earldom of Kildare and its princely patrimony secretly sent to France and afterwards to Italy for safety, and where he remained till after the death of Henry VIII. He was afterwards restored to his honours and estates by Queen Mary and is known in history as " the Wizard Earl."

In the spring of 1539 Grey undertook another expedition against O'Neill. In this the Lord Deputy nearly caught Con himself, and ravaged much of his country. Before his final retirement from the Government of Ireland, Grey made yet another attempt to get young Gerald of Kildare into his hands by means of O'Neill. For the third time O'Neill promised to meet him, and for the third time failed to appear, on which the chagrined Deputy rode thirty four miles of bad road to Dungannon, and once more almost caught the elusive chief, but the guides either mistook the way, or purposely delayed the soldiers on their night march, so that daylight still found them five miles from Dungannon. Six days were spent in raiding and burning, during which time the soldiers had no bread and were obliged to live on newly killed beef, which gave rise to much disease

in their ranks. This was Grey's last expedition ; shortly after he was recalled to England where in 1541 he paid the penalty for his misgovernment of Ireland. Sir Anthony St. Ledger was the new Lord Deputy appointed by Henry, and Con Bacagh seems to have had no more confidence in him than he had in his predecessor, and utterly refused to come to Dundalk, or in any way submit to the King's representative. By this time however, O'Donnell, O'Hanlon, Magennis and MacMahon had returned to their allegiance, and made their submission, consequently when the Lord Deputy prepared to invade the territory of the recalcitrant chief, he had the assistance of these as well as some of the minor clans. Twenty-two days were spent in the usual destruction of the country, but the cattle had been driven into the woods and other secure retreats, and O'Neill himself counter-raided the Pale, where the local levies ably handled by Lord Louth ignominiously routed him.

In a month's time St. Leger made another expedition which was rather more successful, as he captured some hundreds of cows and horses. Then in December (1541) he made a third attack, in which 3,000 kine besides horses and sheep were taken in spite of the clansmen of Tir-owen which brought O'Neill to his knees and he made submission. This result was not achieved without great loss and suffering amongst the royal forces, the soldiers having to lie without tents on the wet ground. Many horses died, and many more were lamed. Such were some of the pleasures of a winter campaign in Tyrone.

After some diplomacy and pressure Con Bacagh was persuaded to go to Court to receive the title of Earl of Tyrone, which had been chosen for him by the English Government. He would have preferred to have been created Earl of Ulster, as more in accordance with his pretentions, but this title pertaining to the Crown, the King refused to part with it. The Government were jubilant at having enmeshed so stout and troublesome an opponent as O'Neill, who, on his visit to London was treated with the utmost distinction.

The ceremony of his creation as Earl took place at Greenwich on Sunday, 1st October, 1542, in the Queen's closet, which was richly hung with cloth of Arras, and well strewn with rushes. After the proclamation of the new Earl's style as " **Du treshant et puissant Seigneur Con, Conte de Tyrone, en la Royaulme d' Irlande,** he gave unto Garter for the fine of his gown twenty angels, and to the whole office of arms £10, and so to the trumpets 40s., and the other officers were honourably recompensed according to ancient custom."

The terms of the patent which was afterwards to be the cause of so much war and bloodshed were as follows :—" Letters patent creating Con O'Nele, Earl of Tyrone, for life on acknowledgement of the King's sovereignity, and of the error of himself and his associates.

The title after his death to descend to Matthew, alias Feardouraghe O'Neile, his son, and his heirs male. Also grant of all his lands to be holden by Knight's service. The said Matthew to be Baron of Dungannon ; which title is always to be borne by heirs apparent to the Earldom of Tyrone."

According to Gainsforde (History of the Earle of Tirone, 1619), Matthew until the age of fifteen was the reputed son of a Dundalk smith, but that his " mother did at the time of her death, according to the custom of the country, present him [Con O'Neill] with this sonne."

That Con Bacagh only accepted an English earldom under pressure is borne out by Gainsforde's statement that " Con Bacagh cursed his posterity if either they learned the language, sowed any wheate, or builded houses."

CHAPTER IV.

1542—1567.

The discredited Earl of Tyrone ; the rise of Shane the Proud ; he visits London ; slaying of the Baron of Dungannon ; the Lord Deputy's Army at Dungannon ; the last of Shane-an-diomas.

Con Bacagh returned to Dungannon with his new title of Earl of Tyrone, which was simply ignored by his followers, to whom he was still the **O'Neill,** but much less trusted than before his intercourse with the English. His illegitimate son, Matthew, being at this time a lusty horseman and well-tried soldier, was the cause of Con's obtaining the Barony of Dungannon and the remainder of the Earldom for him, in preference to his legitimate son, Shane, who was but a boy. Shane's fosterers, the O'Donnellys were not disposed to see their protege set aside in this fashion, and when he and his foster brothers grew up to manhood they took their own means to put the matter right.

Whether the Baron of Dungannon was a Kelly or an O'Neill, he showed himself during the turbulent years that followed as a capable leader and a steady adherent of the English government, being well aware that his position depended on official support. At length in 1551 the suspicions of the Lord Deputy and Council were so far excited by the Baron of Dungannon's reports of the practises of the Earl of Tyrone and his legitimate sons, that they inveigled Con and his wife to Dublin, where he was detained as being useless in his own country and quite unable to control Shane.

When this proceeding became known in Tyrone, Shane and his brothers took up arms and declared war against the Baron of Dungannon and the English who protected him. An expedition was sent northward headed by Bagenal and the " Baron " against the firebrand (Shane), who broke down the bridge over the Blackwater and dismantled his ancestral castle of Dungannon, to prevent the English planting a garrison there. In the following year after an interview with Lord Chancellor Cusack, Shane sped straight to his father's house at Dungannon, four miles away, which he rifled of £800 in gold and silver, with plate and other stuff, and then set the place on fire to prevent it falling into the hands of the English or the " Baron." Cusack perceiving the fire, states that he sent " light horsemen to save the house from burning, and upon my coming to the town, and finding that a small thing would made the place wardable, what was wanted I caused to be made up, and left the Baron of Dungannon's ward in the castle." The burning of strongholds was a common practice to prevent the English placing garrisons in these places, then when the danger was past the chief would re-occupy his castle or fortress, which willing hands soon made serviceable once more.

Expeditions to Tyrone proving fruitless Con O'Neill was released on putting in hostages, towards the close of the year 1552. His Countess and her son remaining as pledges for him, and Shane's brother for that active rebel. The Earl bound himself in £6,000, to keep the peace towards the King's adherents, the Baron of Dungannon, Calvagh O'Donnell, Maguire, and Turlough Lynagh (O'Neill).

Con O'Neill's acceptance of an Earldom at the point of the sword was looked upon as a degradation by his followers, and henceforth with the exception of the personal adherents of himself and the Baron of Dungannon, he steadily lost ground in Tyrone most of the clan transferring their allegiance to Shane whose anti-English activities won for him the suffrages of the great majority of the people. Tyrone and his son, the Baron of Dungannon, were not inclined to stand by and see their authority pass to Shane without a struggle. The consequences of this were described with a certain amount of truth, but with considerable exaggeration, by Cusack, who wrote on 27th September, 1551 :—" The centre of Tyrone is brought through the war of the Earl and his sons (some of themselves against each other) to such an extent of misery as there is not ten ploughs in all Tyrone." ' Hundreds,' he calculates ' this last year and this summer died thro' famine.' But practically Shane was master of the situation, and in 1557 Tyrone and the Baron were obliged to seek shelter in the Pale. After Shane's defeat by Calvagh O'Donnell they were restored by Sussex, but in 1558, the year of Elizabeth's accession, the Baron of Dungannon was slain in an obscure fray. This was effected by the

simple ruse of raising the 'hue-and-cry at the base of a castle where he lay that night, when the gentleman ran suddenly forth to answer the cry as the custom is, they betrayed and murdered him.' Campion who narrated the incident twelve years after it happened, does not give the name of the Castle, so that presumably it was not at Dungannon it took place. After this Tyrone once more fled for safety to the Pale where he died apparently in the spring of 1559.

As soon as his father's death became known to Shane O'Neill he hastened without delay to Tullahog and had himself inaugurated **O'Neill,** which was merely an official confirmation of the position he had already held for years. This was in open defiance of English law, but Elizabeth at the opening of her reign was inclined to treat the great Ulster chief graciously, and being of a practical turn of mind recognised that what was done could not be undone except by a long and costly war which the Government was in no condition to undertake just then. Consequently when Sussex returned to his post as Lord Deputy of Ireland, in July, 1559, paragraph 14 of his instructions was to the effect that as Shane already occupied and possessed " all that country, rule, and lands which his father enjoyed without let or interruption of any person . . . we think meet, especially for the preferment of the person legitimate in blood and next for that he is thereof in quiet possession, that the Deputy shall allow him to succeed his father."

After a great deal of negotiation Shane O'Neill was persuaded to visit London early in 1562, and make a personal submission to Elizabeth, to whom he had so often appealed against Irish Governors. During ONeill's stay or virtual captivity in London, Tyrone was in a state of distraction, many disturbances being raised by the sons of the late Baron of Dungannon and other enemies. Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, at his death left three legitimate sons, Brian, 2nd Baron, Hugh and Cormac. Turlogh Lynagh, who was O'Neill's Tanist, during Shane's absence, waylaid the unfortunate Brian one morning before daybreak, with 100 horse and 200 foot, somewhere between Carlingford and Newry. The victim had no more than twenty with him. He hid in a thicket, and stripped off his clothes intending to swim the river when the pursuit slackened, but one of his followers who was taken offered in order to save his own life, to betray a better person. Accordingly his hiding place was pointed out and he was slain, by MacDonnell Totane (of the burning).

This murder of the young " Baron " aroused the Government, who, in pursuance of their usual policy that they should have a " Queen's O'Neill," who would form a counter party amongst the clan, and so help to offset the power wielded by the chief should he object to the Anglicization of his country, or not prove sufficiently pliable in carrying out the Queen's projects, secured the person of

Hugh O'Neill, Brian's successor then at fosterage with the O'Hagans, and placed him in custody of Captain Giles Hovenden, an English servitor, who had the manor of Killaban, in Queen's County. This is evidently how in after years the great Earl's foster brother, Henry Hovenden, came to be his most astute and trusted councillor and ambassador.

The crime narrated and other disorders in Tyrone convinced the Government that Shane was the only person strong enough to control the unruly elements in that portion of the realm. O'Neill was back in Ireland by the end of May, but in order to get free was obliged to agree to conditions which he repudiated as having been obtained under duress, as soon as he was back in his own country. His foot once more on his native soil he proceeded with a high hand to chastise those chiefs who had repudiated his overlordship and sided with the Government, whom they now found unable to protect them. The repeated complaints of the injured chieftains caused Sussex, now raised to the dignity of Lord Lieutenant, to make an expedition to the north, which arrived at Armagh, 11th April, 1563. Here the army pitched their camp for a space, Shane's men skirmishing with them most of the time. At length one dark night when the rain was falling in torrents, a party of the enemy crept up to the lines and carried off 300 pack horses. On the 1st June the army rose up from Armagh and marched to Dungannon, from which on the evening of the 2nd they marched to a hill beyond Tullahog where they encamped. Shane O'Neill with his forces being lodged in the surrounding woods continually skirmishing with the Government forces a few were slain on both sides. Sussex had in his camp James O'Hagan and his son, who acted as guides to the army, and being sent out to spy on O'Neills forces, stumbled into the midst of one of Shane's creaghts. The old man was taken but the son escaped. It was with the O'Hagans of Tullahog that Hugh O'Neill was fostered prior to his removal by the Government, after the murder of his brother Brian, consequently the O'Hagans were of the Baron's faction and opposed to Shane. On the 3rd the army marched through a long pass and came to a great plain by Lough Neagh. Shane O'Neill still skirmishing and keeping in touch with them, but refusing to draw into a general engagement. They returned and came to their camp by Art O'Quyne's lough some three miles from Dungannon. Next day the Lord Deputy and his forces returned to Armagh, only to find that the pledges put in by MacMahon had fled during their absence. The baffled Viceroy returned to the Pale, and thus ended the inglorious campaign.

Shane O'Neill's after career, which does not immediately concern Dungannon, may for the sake of continuity of the narrative be briefly summed up. On the 2nd May, 1565, O'Neill inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scots in North Antrim. James MacDonnell

was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner. Sorley Boy was also taken, and their brother Angus was killed. Two chiefs of the Macleods, with many men of note fell into the victor's hands. But pride goes before a fall, and in the following year Shane himself when invading Tirconnell was as decisively defeated by the O'Donnells. Finding himself being gradually hemmed in by the Lord Deputy, Sidney on the one hand, and his enemies on the other, and in despair at his loss of prestige, he, in a moment of weakness placed himself in the power of the Scots, of whom a strong force had just landed at Cushendun. A feast was made to celebrate the occasion, after which the wine and usquebaugh circulated, this loosened tongues, and a quarrel ensued, in which the Scots avenged their recent loss at his hands by almost cutting to pieces with their dirks Shane-an-diomas.

" You were turbulent and haughty, proud, and keen as Spanish steel,
But who had right of these, if not our Ulster's Chief, O'Neill."

CHAPTER V.
1567—1588.

Turlogh Lynagh made O'Neill ; fort erected at Blackwater ; Hugh O'Neill's feud with Bagenal ; Armada survivors at Dungannon ; the Lord Deputy visits Dungannon.

After Shane O'Neill's death, Turlogh Lynagh, who was Tanist to Shane, was in due course inaugurated **O'Neill.** He had tried to accelerate his promotion by causing himself to be created O'Neill, just three days before Shane landed at Dublin, on his return from the English Court, but once that fiery chieftain reached Tyrone no more was heard of his O'Neillship. Turlogh Lynagh was not the man to oust Shane-an-diomas from his pride of place in Tyrone. After some experience of Turlogh, the Lord Justice and his sovereign began to think the new O'Neill was as bad as the old one. Turlogh resided at Strabane, and when he did come to south Tyrone had his residence at Benburb or its vicinity, consequently does not enter into the story of Dungannon, which with its surrounding lands appear to have descended to the Baron of Dungannon, and afterwards in due course to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Beyond the fact recorded by Gainsforde that ' he trooped in the streets of London, with sufficient equipage and orderly respect,' nothing in particular is known of his life at court, though from certain expressions in his letters, it seems probable that he attached himself to the household of the Earl of Leicester. Sir Henry Sydney in ' A summary of all his services

in Ireland,' says " I had with me the young Baron of Dungannon, Shane's eldest brother's son, whom I bred in my house from a little boy, then very poor of goods and feebly friended."

Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, the boy whom Sydney refers to, now grown to manhood, returned to Ireland early in 1568, and was then established in that part of Tyrone territory corresponding to the modern county Armagh. From other references we infer that the Baron's first residence, after his return to Ulster, was in Marlacoo lough where there was a cranoge on which was a fortified residence. Turlogh Lynagh, who had slain his brother Brian was not likely to view with much favour this new English O'Neill, and accordingly made matters hot for the young Baron, and there were complaints and counter complaints to the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney. At this time Hugh O'Neill, as a matter of necessity was a strong supporter of the English Government, while Turlogh Lynagh aimed at exercising the O'Neill lordship and jurisdiction in all its ancient fulness. Fortunately for him, his wife, who had been the widow of James MacDonnell, was a very wise, prudent woman who restrained him from jeopardising his position and thus playing into the hands of his more crafty rival.

Essex made an expedition into Tyrone in the summer of 1575, for the purpose of erecting a fort at the Blackwater. This after some skirmishing with Turlogh Lynagh was done after a fashion—" A bridge with stone piers and timber superstructure was finished, earthen bridgeheads were thrown up, and an entrenched enclosure constructed to hold 200 men and tenable by fifty; the Baron of Dungannon (Hugh O'Neill) agreeing to find victuals for the latter number.

At this time the relative fighting strengths were—O'Neill (Turlogh Lynagh), 200 horsemen; 400 gallowglasses; 1,000 kerne; 400 Scots.

The Baron of Dungannon with his under chiefs, 110 horsemen; 300 gallowglasses, 400 kerne.

From this return it will be seen how much inferior in men Hugh, Baron of Dungannon was to O'Neill, and how necessary to his existence it was to have the backing of the Government. At this time Sir Hugh O'Donnell recommended that Dungannon itself be fortified, but nothing further than the Blackwater fort was attempted, and it was but rudimentary, and a standing eyesore to both Turlogh Lynagh and his rival, the Baron. Later, O'Neill, under the influence of his wife, became reconciled to the English government, and on 18th May, 1578, was created Baron of Clogher, and Earl of Clan O'Neill. This title was never perfected—probably the example of Con Bacagh acted as a warning to Turlogh Lynagh and his politic wife, that to change the princely title of **O'Neill** for an Earldom

would be but playing into the hands of the Baron of Dungannon, who was already laying his plans to oust Turlogh from his chieftainship. Hugh O'Neill's moves to arrogate to himself the power of O'Neill in the southern part of the Tyrone territory—Armagh had not then been divided off and made shire ground, are fully described in the State Papers. Thus, he writes to the Lord Justice, 22nd November, 1579—"O'Neill is drawing great numbers of the Scots into the North. His intent is evil. . . . If you will bestow on me 100 footmen in pay, I will keep the Pale unless O'Neill do war; and then 300 footmen and 50 horsemen should lie at the Blackwater at my direction." This was a very ingenious move of the Baron to get the Fort at Blackwater into his possession and control, but it proved fruitless. His next move we learn from a letter of Lord Justice Pelham to the Queen, dated the day following (Nov. 23) Hugh O'Neill's letter, in which he mentions amongst other items of news—"The Baron of Dungannon being sworn unto them (O'Neill and and O'Donnell) and accepted as Tanist or successor." The astute Hugh, when he found that there was nothing more to be gained by posing as the supporter of England against the rebellious Turlogh, at once made peace with his old opponent and then proceeded to undermine him in other ways. Part of his agreement seems to have been that he should put away his wife, the daughter of O'Donnell, and sister of Red Hugh, but the Lord Justice (Drury) alarmed at the prospect of a union between the two chiefs succeeded in dissuading him.

There is a pen and ink sketch of Turlogh Lynagh, drawn by Barnaby Gooch, which is here reproduced. It was done on the margin of a letter in which the writer says that it is "rudely drawn but greatly resembling him." (State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, XIV. 60 II. P.R.O.).

On a rumour of the landing of 3,000 Scots to force Turlogh Lynagh to free two of Shane O'Neill's sons whom he held captive, Sir Nicholas Bagenal with a small force made an expedition into Tyrone. Turlogh refused to yield his prisoners, and to avoid the pressure of this force of Scots, moved southwards and met Bagenal at Blackwater fort, where they dined together. Marshal Bagenal patched up a peace between O'Neill and the Baron of Dungannon, friction having arisen once more between the two potentates. The feud between Hugh O'Neill and the Bagenals manifested itself as early as this time (August, 1584), for the Marshal in his despatch says—"Besides the breach with Turlogh, he refused to yield any

obedience to my Commission in the presence of the Lord of Louth, Sir Hugh Magennis and others, wishing me to put my Commission in my pocket, that he would not be commanded by any but her Majesty and her Lord Deputy. Hugh O'Neill, whose own pedigree was far from flawless, pobably despised Bagnal as an upstart indeed the choleric Perrott in the Council chamber is said to have twitted him with having sprung from a tailor's stall. Both the O'Neills seem to have got on well with Lord Deputy Perrott, as later on in the same year (1584) he persuaded Turlogh Lynagh to accept his arrangement of dividing all Ulster except Tirconnell into three lieutenancies and to extinguish O'Neill's claim to the Urriaghs (under or tributary chiefs). One division was to be assigned to O'Neill, one to the Baron of Dungannon, and the other to Marshal Bagenal. Hugh O'Neill's request to be admitted Earl of Tyrone was granted and he sat by that title in the Parliament of 1585. The Lord Deputy was also successful later on in the year 1584 in getting Turlogh Lynagh's consent to an arrangement by which Hugh O'Neill was put in possession of that part of Tyrone which lies between the Blackwater and the Mullaghcarne mountains, at an annual rent of 1,000 marks, to which Perrott added the command of all the Urriaghs, or vassal chiefs lying between the Pale and Slieve Gullion, the arrangement to hold good for seven years.

Dungannon and the surrounding district being the mensal lands of Hugh O'Neill's family, he appears to have taken up his residence there after concluding the agreement with Turlogh Lynagh. In a description of Ulster in the year 1586, it says—" Turlogh most commonly dwelleth in the castle of Strabane. The new castle on the Earl's part is at Dungannon (Car MSS.)

The year 1588 was that of the Invincible Armada, and in the early days of September in that year the storm beaten remains of King Philip's fleet came sweeping on the Irish coast, and soon the north and western shores of Ulster were studded with Spanish wrecks and stewn with Spanish dead. One of these galleons, the " Trinidad Valencera," of Venice, (1,100 tons, 42 guns, 360 men), was cast away on the Inishowen side of Lough Foyle. The shipwrecked fugitives landed in O'Doherty's country, whereupon Sir John O'Doherty sent word to Richard and Henry Hovenden, Tyrone's foster brothers, who at once proceeded with 150 men to Burt Castle. From there they attacked the Spaniards, who were at Sir John O'Doherty's town of Illagh, and made them prisoners. They carried them to Dungannon, as it is from there that the Hovendens write to the Lord Deputy, on 14th September, 1588, and at a later date amongst the Earl of Tyrone's grievances we find one is that neither he nor the Hovendens had any recompense for overthrowing five or six hundred Spaniards, the best of whom he sent to the Lord

Deputy. The tale did not lose anything in the telling.

One of the conditions under which Tyrone acquired control of the greater part of the O'Neill principality was, that Turlogh Lynagh could terminate the agreement at the end of three years. It was not very long before friction arose between O'Neill and Tyrone, so that when the three years had elapsed Turlogh Lynagh proceeded to reclaim according to the terms of the agreement. The fat was now fairly in the fire. Tyrone having once got under his control the greater part of the O'Neill principality, would about as soon have parted with it as with his heart's blood. Turlogh Lynagh complained to the Lord Deputy and Council, and Fitzwilliam, the new Deputy who had succeeded Perrott, on his journey to the north was met at Newry by Turlogh, who was most eager to have his lands and tenants back. However, Fitzwilliam managed to put him off by promising that he and the Council would deal with the matter before the following May " as should be to both their contentments." It partly satisfied O'Neill, but was just as likely to be realised as if he had promised to give each of them the first penny that he found floating down the Blackwater on a grindstone. Afterwards the Lord Deputy went on to Dungannon, where he says " I found so great cheer and refreshing at the Earl [of Tyrone's] cost, as I could wish no better. Mr. Secretary [Fenton] fell in dealing with the Earl, persuading to deliver up the lease to O'Neill."

There were high old times in Dungannon in the year of grace, 1588, first with the arrival of the Spanish prisoners, then towards the close of the year, the visit of no less a personage than the Viceroy of Ireland himself, with his attendant train. Hugh O'Neill must have listened with his tongue in his cheek to Secretary Fenton when the latter endeavoured to persuade him to restore the lands leased to him by Turlogh Lynagh, and we may be sure that Tyrone gave as plausible and evasive an answer to the Secretary as the Deputy did to O'Neill. However, the upshot of the matter was that the Earl of Tyrone utterly refused to restore the lands leased to him by Turlogh Lynagh, and there was every prospect of another bloody war in Ulster. The harassed Lord Deputy and Council finally, about the middle of May, 1589, persuaded Turlogh Lynagh to allow the lease to run the remaining four years on condition that he was paid an additional rent of 300 fat beeves annually.

From this it will be seen that the Government favoured the subtle and plausible Earl of Tyrone, and were thus raising up for themselves a dangerous enemy in the not distant future.

CHAPTER VI.
1589—1591.

Rival O'Neills ; Hugh ne gavelock brings charges against Tyrone ; the romance of Mabel Bagenal ; the vengeance of the O'Hagans.

The patching up of the peace between Turlogh Lynagh and the Earl of Tyrone was only a temporary expedient at best, and the friction continued, for Tyrone's whole aim and ambition was to be **O'Neill.** The sons of Shane O'Neill also aspired to the chieftainship, and were dreaded equally by Turlogh and Hugh O'Neill. Of these the most enterprising and active was an illegitimate son, Hugh, by the wife of O'Donnell, born while his mother was held in captivity by Shane, hence he was known as " ne gavelock," i.e., Hugh of the fetters. Except with his own fosterers, the O'Hagans, in consequence of his English training Hugh O'Neill was not by any means popular in Tyrone during the earlier part of his career, while Turlogh Lynagh the better subject he became, the weaker he waxed, and the less regarded by his people, consequently both feared the sons of Shane, and would have kept them in captivity could they have got them into their power. One of them, Con MacShane, had been for a long time in durance with Turlogh Lynagh, but in view of Hugh O'Neill's undisguished ambition to oust O'Neill from the overlordship of Tyrone, Turlogh early in 1589 set his prisoner at liberty, and at the same time Hugh ne gavelock,who had been for two years in Scotland returned with a force of Scots to Lough Foyle. These apparently placed their services at the disposal of O'Neill, while the Earl Tyrone tried to engage as many Scots as possible to offset the forces of his rival. In addition to this the MacDonnells who were O'Neill's hereditary gallowglasses, were out and out supporters of Conn and Hugh, whose father, Shane the Proud, had in his turbulent lifetime given so much employment to their battleaxes. Everyone in the north anticipated an outbreak of civil war, when the Lord Deputy (Fitzwilliam) made a hurried journey to Ulster, and once more managed to patch up a peace between O'Neill and the Earl of Tyrone. Meantime Hugh ne gavelock had not been idle, and laid before the Lord Deputy and Council a number of grave charges against Tyrone. These the Earl considered so serious that he went to Dublin to answer them personally. This was in the first week of April, 1589. Hugh O'Neill was a favourite of the Deputy, or else he knew how to grease Fitzwilliam's reputedly itching palm. At anyrate the Lord Deputy writing to Walsingham, from Dublin Castle, 29th April, 1589, says that after reading Hugh ne gavelock's letters and hearing his

speeches before the Council " it is a mere practice proceeding from the great and inveterate malice which Sir Turlogh Lynagh, and the sons of Shane O'Neill, and that race have ever borne against the honour and wellbeing of the Earl."

Turlogh Lynagh, probably guided by his wife, while giving countenance and encouragement to Shane's sons took no active part himself, but the MacShanes were active in raiding the Earl of Tyrone's territory, and Sir Henry Bagenal, who was in a position to know, thought that when the nights grew long they would do much harm ; and that under colour of them many others do start to make spoil. From a letter of Sir George Carew to Perrott, dated August, 25, 1589, we gather that shortly before they almost captured the Earl, who did not fail to complain to the Government of their actions and states that they have slain as many of his people and cattle as they can. This is confirmed by other correspondents. The Lord Deputy, in writing to Burghley of the doings of Hugh ne gavelock, and Con O'Neill, says " two such members while they live and may be maintained by Sir Turlogh Lynagh O'Neill, will never suffer any part of the North of Ireland to be in quiet. However, the career of Hugh ne gavelock was drawing to a close which was destined to cause an even greater commotion than his doings while alive. It happened thuswise—Hugh ne gavelock, when he was on one of his raids most probably, was captured by the base son of Maguire (chief of Fermanagh), whereupon the Earl of Tyrone availed himself of this chance of getting him into his hands, and purchased their prisoner from the Maguires for 120 steeds, and shortly after hanged him at Dungannon. The earliest report of the execution is 29 January, 1590 (N.S.) Great offers were made to save him, and the O'Donnellys with whom his father had been fostered offered 300 horses and 5,000 cows that he might be spared, but he was too dangerous a competitor for the O'Neillship and he was executed. It was rumoured that no one could be got to execute the son of Shane O'Neill, but Tyrone in his defence repudiates this and gives the names of the two hangmen. This summary execution came as a great shock to the Government, but Tyrone pointed out that the executive was impotent and unable to administer justice in the territory, therefore it devolved on such as he, as her Majesty's lieutenant to do justice upon thieves and murderers, otherwise he would not be able to preserve the country from violence and wrong. This, as the Government were well aware, was but too true ; in Ulster they were neither able to protect or punish, so they took up the attitude to Hugh O'Neill—" you have been a naughty boy, you mustn't do it again. "

Tyrone, notwithstanding, would seem to have not been quite easy in his mind, as there were complaints against him being sent to the English Government, so he took the sudden step of going to

London in the month of May, 1590, to defend himself before the Queen, without having first obtained the necessary licence from the Lord Deputy, which was in itself a serious offence. He was able to placate the Queen and Council by agreeing to certain conditions, one of which was to execute no man except by commission from the Lord Deputy, under the broad seal of martial law; another was that he was to allow his country to be made shire ground.

Tyrone by his tact and plausibility succeeded in continuing in favour, but some of the more far-seeing of the officials were beginning to have their doubts about him, and on 20 May, 1590, Sir G. Fenton, Chief Secretary, writes—"Not long since he rode in haste with all his forces to the stone when he heard that O'Neill [Turlogh Lynagh] was dead, which was not so." The inauguration stone was at Tullahog, to which it was not a far journey from Dungannon.

At this period there was enacted quite an interesting romance which happened in this wise. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, now a widower, became enamoured with the charms of Mabel Bagenal, youngest daughter of the late Sir Nicholas Bagenal of Newry, and sister of Sir Henry Bagenal,who had succeeded his father in the office of Marshal of the Army in Ireland. The Marshal, who was either born in or had lived the most of his life in Ireland, had no illusions about the Earl of Tyrone, his ambition and double-dealing, so that when the Earl approached him for the hand of his sister he postponed his answer by saying that he could not move in an affair of such moment, without referring the matter to the Privy Council for their opinion and approval. The Earl proved a persistent suitor, and according to his own acount dealt with Bagenal at least six times for his consent. Meantime, Mabel Bagenal was on a visit to Sir Patrick Barnewall and his wife, the young lady's sister and brother-in-law, whom he also dealt with for their consents, and also employed others of their mutual acquaintance to forward his suit with the young lady herself. Sir Henry Bagenal finding that Tyrone was not to be put off, then raised the question whether his divorce from Sir Brian MacPhelim's daughter many years before was valid. Apparently he had the matter cleared up before he married the sister of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, by whose death he was now left a widower, so finding that he was getting nothing but fair words and delays from the Marshal, he determined to settle the matter with the gentlewoman herself. Accordingly he paid a visit to Sir Patrick Barnewall's, where the young lady was staying, and remained there for the night, and while there dealt so effectually with the fair Mabel that they were betrothed, and she received from O'Neill a chain of gold worth £100. Her brother-in-law and sister, who lived at Turvey, near Swords, County Dublin, if they did not encourage the lovers, certainly do not seem to have put any obstacles in their way. Pos-

sibly they were enamoured with the idea of their sister being a Countess. After this messengers passed between the enamoured Earl and his fiance, bearing notes which confirmed and strengthened the love on both sides, so that on 3 August, 1591, Tyrone accompanied by half a dozen English gentlemen, who were his friends, went to dine with Sir Patrick Barnewall, where they were handsomely entertained. After dinner the gentlemen proceeded to amuse themselves in various ways, and Mabel Bagenal espying her time mounted behind one of the gentlemen of Tyrone's company and went away with him, attended by one or two serving men. The Earl himself tarried in the house talking with Lady Barnewall for her consent, until his fair one was well on her way to the place agreed upon, he then took his leave of Sir Patrick Barnewall and his lady, and followed quickly after. The gentlemen who had arrived in his company then took their horses and rode away quietly.

The gallant who performed the kindly office of carrying off the lady, was named William Warren, it was to his house about a mile from Dublin that the party proceeded. As soon as they had reached this haven, Jones, Bishop of Meath, was immediately sent for, and he, honest man, united firmly in the bonds of matrimony, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Mabel Bagenal.

When her brother, Sir Henry Bagenal, heard what had taken place he was furious, and wrote to Burghley, the English Secretary of State complaining of the whole affair, and disavowing any complicity therein. He goes on to say—" My grief is unspeakable that the blood which in my father and myself has often been spilled in repressing this rebellious race, should now be mingled with so traitorous a stock and kindred," and concluded by threatening that " he would hold a more vigilant eye upon the Earl's actions than heretofore."

Tyrone was fifty and Mabel twenty when this marriage took place. He was an experienced courtier and diplomat who had very little to learn from the able statesmen of Elizabeth's Government, consequently her brother could not have been far wrong in saying that he did ' by taking advantage of her years and ignorance of his barbarous estate and course of living, entice the unfortunate girl by nursing in her through the report of some corrupted persons an opinion of his haviour and greatness."

The Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam, with whom O'Neill was a favourite, while remaining neutral in the matter, as occasion offered, put in a good word for the Earl, and the whole affair which was a nine days' wonder at the time, soon blew over and its place was taken by some fresh happening.

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bride, and on 30 December, 1591, Fitzwilliam, in writing to Burghley informs him that 'the Earl since his marriage has bestowed great cost of building at Dungannon, and also at London to furnish and deck that house at Dungannon.'

Mabel Bagenal had by her father's will a fortune of £1,000 which Sir Henry, owing to her marriage against his wishes, utterly declined to pay, and it was one of the causes of recrimination by the Earl in his complaints to the Privy Council against the Marshal.

Some three years after the marriage of the Countess of Tyrone, one of the O'Hagans, the Earl's fosterers was killed by Phelim MacTirlogh O'Neill, who had a residence on the river Bann, near Toome. Cooler moments brought home to him what the consequences were likely to be of his rash act. He then fled from his residence for safety, but after some time finding that no active measures were being taken ventured to return, and as a safeguard intending to solicit having one of the Earl's children to foster.

It was rather a surprise for him on reaching his residence, to find that the Earl and Countess had already arrived there on a visit. Phelim paid his respects and made his request, but received no satisfaction. It did not add to this peace of mind that two of the O'Hagans, brothers of the murdered man, who were in the Earl's train, were suspiciously civil. Next morning Tyrone and his Countess proceeded some distance down the banks of the Bann towards Portglenone, on what would now be termed a picnic. Phelim MacTurlogh accompanied them part of the way but received no countenance from the Earl, and on his returning he was joined by the two O'Hagans more friendly than ever, which on their part was but a pretence, as on their arrival at his residence he was immediately slain. The account of the murder was brought by the attendant who followed the Earl and Countess with provisions, and who, on being chided for his delay, related the evil deed that he had just witnessed. In his charming book of Elizabethan sketches entitled "The Bog of Stars," Standish O'Grady has given a very dramatic rendition of this incident, which is narrated in the State Papers.

Unfortunately this is not a folk tale to be concluded by "they got married and lived happily ever after." Tyrone and the Knight Marshal hated each other, and even in his wife's presence the Earl declared that he hated no man so much in the world as Bagenal. According to a note in the "Trevelyan Papers" (II. p. 102) Mabel herself before long repented her rashness, grew to dislike O'Neill, and went to her brother to get him to complain of Tyrone to the Council of Ireland. She died in less than five years of matrimony, and so did not live to see her brother slain at the battle of the Yellow Ford, where the English army was so disastrously defeated by her husband.

CHAPTER VII.

1591—1594.

The kidnapping of Red Hugh ; his captivity ; escapes to Dungannon ; Tirconnell once more ; Tyrone attains his ambition ; assists in putting down Maguire's rebellion ; submission to the new Lord Deputy.

Another romantic happening occurs in connection with the annals of Dungannon, but to make the incident quite clear we must go back to the winter of the year 1587, when a ship laden with wine, but manned by fifty armed men, put into Lough Swilly. At this time Sir Hugh O'Donnell was chief of Tirconnell, who when rather advanced in years, married (1569) as his second wife Ineen Duff (anglice—the dark daughter), daughter of James MacDonnell, Lord of the Isles, and his wife Lady Agnes Campbell, who in her widowhood married Turlogh Lynagh. As usual there were several claimants for the succession to the chieftainship of Tirconnell. One of these, Hugh, son of Calvagh, was murdered at the instance of Ineen Duff. Then there was an elder son by a previous wife, Donnell, who married a daughter of Turlogh Lynagh. There were also the sons of Hugh Duff, of the eldest blood, who claimed by Gaelic law, but while each of these aspirants had a certain following the favourite of the clansmen was young Hugh Roe, the son of Ineen Duff, then in his sixteenth year. He was looked upon as the prophesied child of great deeds—" when two Hughs lawfully, lineally and immediately succeed each other, being so formally and ceremoniously according to the country's custom, the last Hugh shall be a monarch in Ireland, and banish thence all foreign nations and conquerors."

Sir John Perrott noticed the boy's importance and concluding that he would be a good pledge for the loyalty of his clan sent the wine laden ship round to Lough Swilly. The cargo of the ship becoming known, customers were plentiful, and just at this time Hugh Roe, who was being fostered by the MacSwineys, arrived at Rathmullan Castle, near which the ship lay at anchor. The Captain on hearing of this called in his men, and when MacSwiney sent to purchase a fresh supply of wine to entertain his visitors, replied that he had sold all that he had to spare, but that he would be happy to entertain MacSwiney and his friends on board. They unsuspectingly accepted the invitation and were treated with the greatest hospitality, but while the guests were carousing below in the cabin, the seamen closed down the hatches and carried the whole party out to sea. The natives, who observed this from the shore, were frantic, but pursuit was impossible, and Hugh Roe, the hope of

Tirconnell, was safely lodged in Dublin Castle.

Although only about sixteen years of age he was betroted to a Dungannon lady, in the person of Tyrone's daughter, and his future father-in-law used all his influence to procure his liberation, but his efforts were in vain, while he was considered so valuable a hostage that the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrott, refused the offer of £2,000 for his release.

Three years passed in captivity for the young eagle of Tirconnell when he made an attempt to escape, which ended in failure. Another year slowly passed when on Christmas eve 1591, Hugh Roe and his two companions, Henry and Art, sons of Shane, managed to cut their fetters with a file that had been smuggled in to them, and let themselves down from the window of their prison by a silken rope. After almost incredible hardship under which Art O'Neill succumbed, Hugh reached Glenmalure, the residence of the famous Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne, who concealed him while he despatched an urgent message to the Earl of Tyrone, who sent one of his fosterers, Turlogh O'Hagan, who spoke English and was accustomed to their ways, for he attended the Earl when he came on business to the city of Dublin. O'Hagan managed to conduct his charge safely, but with several narrow escapes, to the residence of Turlogh MacHenry (O'Neill) of the Fews, where, being in Tyrone's country he was safe. The fugitive stopped there over night, and next day travelled to Armagh, where they remained concealed for a night.

"The next day they went into Dungannon Mic Cathbaid, where Hugh O'Neill was. He was glad of the coming of his guest, and he brought him without delay to a private chamber secretly without being perceived by anyone in the castle, except some of his trustworthy people who attended on and entertained him, because Hugh O'Neill was still in the Queen's service. . . . Hugh Roe remained four days with O'Neill in Dungannon to recover from the fatigue and hardships of his journey, then the Earl sent a troop of horse with him to protect him till he reached Enniskillen, the residence of his cousin Hugh Maguire." There the stout rowers of Maguire's galley bore their charge onward in safety, past Erne's hundred isles to the point where lough narrows to river, there a band of horsemen awaited his coming, and carried him to his father's castle of Ballyshannon, and thus Red Hugh came home, home to his own green-vallied mountain-studded land, Tir Connail. Here he remained under cure for two months, but the physicians had to amputate his two great toes which had been frostbitten on that terrible night spent in the Wicklow mountains.

The 3rd of May, 1592, was the proudest day in the life of Inceen Duff O'Donnell—the day for which she had striven, and fought, and imbued her hands in blood, for MacDonnell's dark daughter, the

fierce eagle of the Isles, was determined that her son Hugh and none other should be chief of the mountain land. So on this fair May morn there gathered all the clans that owned O'Donnell's sway, from the Lake of Shadows to the Bay of Donegal ; MacSwines, O'Friels, O'Gallaghers and O'Donnells ; to Kilmacrenan where lay the flagstone of the kings they came. There Sir Hugh O'Donnell, now grown old and feeble, resigned the chieftainship, and his son Hugh Roe, then in his twentieth year, was inaugurated in his stead, " as noble a chief, as stout a warrior, as ever bore the wand of chieftaincy, or led a clan to battle."

As a result of the hardships that he had undergone Hugh Roe continued in ill health during the summer of that year, but the politic and far-seeing Tyrone finding that the O'Neills, all but a few, were against Hugh Roe and the O'Donnells, and at the same time to retain the favour of the Government in the arrangement of his disputes with Turlogh Lynagh, in the language of Red Hugh's biographer " went from the Dun of Genann, son of Cathbad, north-west exactly till he came to Donegal where O'Donnell was sick. Him he persuaded to meet the Lord Deputy at Dundalk and make his submission. This Hugh Roe was most reluctant to do but yielded as a matter of policy. They returned by way of Dungannon where they feasted and enjoyed themselves until Hugh thought it time to go away. He went his way till he came to Donegal where he remained in his sick bed as he had now no fear, having entered into peace and friendship with the Lord Deputy " [Fitzwilliam].

The Earl and Hugh Roe O'Donnell were now in amity with the Government, but friction still continued betwixt them and Turlogh Lynagh, for Turlogh had supported the opposite faction in Tirconnel, and was also now obedient to the English government, therefore it was for these reasons the O'Donnell made his chieftain's raid, i.e., his first feat of arms on the occasion of his accession, against Turlogh Lynagh. He also took up his residence at Lifford in order to harass O'Neill, now an old man, and drive him to resign the chieftainship so that Tyrone might be inaugurated in his place. Under these conditions Turlogh Lynagh, unable to resist the pressure of both Tyrone and O'Donnell, thought it wiser to abdicate in his rival's favour. This was done in May, 1593, and Hugh O'Neill had now all Tyrone and the neighbouring tributary chiefs at his command.

In pursuance of his policy of making himself as independent a ruler of his territory as Con More, or Con Bacagh had been before his submission, he proceeded to train the people of his territory in the use of arms. As captain of his country he commanded a company of soldiers in the Queen's pay, made up of his own followers. This company as soon as they were perfect in military exercise he changed, putting new untrained men in their place until he had all the men

of fighting age thoroughly disciplined, so that the history of Dungannon as a militia centre goes back to the sixteenth century.

The object of Hugh O'Neill's plans being now to a great extent achieved, a further development of his policy took place. According to information sent by Patrick MacArt Moyle MacMahon there was an important meeting held at Dungannon, at which were present Tyrone's brother, Cormac MacBaron, Brian MacHugh Oge MacMahon, Tyrone, O'Donnell, and Primate MacGauran. At this meeting Maguire took an oath to join with the Spanish forces which the titular Primate had promised. There is no date to MacMahon's information, but it is probable that it was in pursuance of this policy that Maguire made his raid into Connaught, into which he penetrated as far as Roscommon, where he came in contact with Sir Richard Bingham. The English party were outnumbered and Maguire drove off a great spoil of cattle, but in the running fight that followed, MacGuaran, who had accompanied the expedition, was killed.

Until his plans were perfected it was Tyrone's policy to keep on friendly terms with the Government, accordingly when in the month of September (1593) Maguire turned his attention to Monaghan, and the Deputy found it necessary to make a display of force. Tyrone was joined in command with Bagenal in putting down the rebellion, in course of which he was wounded in the thigh, and it was one of the Earl's grievances that Bagenal got more than his due share of credit. He believed, or affected to believe that Bagenal had orders from the Lord Deputy for his arrest, and wounded as he was withdrew to Dungannon out of harm's way. This was his last service to the Crown during Elizabeth's lifetime, and to all appearance was rendered with reluctance.

Fitzwilliam wrote to Burghley 13 July, 1593, that all Ulster was at Tyrone's command, so he put the best face he could on the matter and appointed Cormac, the Earl's brother, Sheriff of Tyrone, and Sir Oghie O'Hanlon, his son-in-law, Sheriff of Armagh, but as Sir George Carew wrote, there is "great probability of Tyrone's rebellion which will cost the Queen more crowns than any that has been yet attempted. He is the best man of war of his nation, having had his education in our discipline, and being naturally valiant." A spy writing from Dungannon 12 March, 1594-5, gives an account of a conference between the Earl, his brother Cormac and O'Donnell. The Government, in view of these movements, employed the good offices of the Earl of Ormond, who wrote to Tyrone advising him to be a loyal and dutiful subject to her Majesty, and the Earl not to be outdone in civility, replied from Dungannon, thanking him for his good advice, and promising to live dutifully.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, now an old done man, at length got leave to resign, and the new Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, ar-

rived in Dublin, 1st August, 1594. The Knight Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenal did not permit the grass to grow under his feet, as on August 17th he preferred a long list of informations against the Earl of Tyrone. One of these, that numbered 13, was—" On 5 August the Earl, since he had knowledge of your Lordship's arrival, came to a town called Carnteel in Tyrone, and went from thence to his brother Cormac's town called Augher, where he met with Cormac and O'Donnell."

The Deputy and Council considered the articles the same day and " It was resolved for weighty considerations touching her Majesty's service, that the Earl should not be charged with the said Articles this time but to be deferred to a more fit time."

Prompt as Bagenal had been, Tyrone, who was well served with information of everything going on, particularly if it touched himself, was ahead of him as he arrived in Dublin on 15 August, when he sent in a written submission, and two days later, the day that Bagenal's charges were sent in he petitioned the Lord Deputy sitting in Council, hence the resolution recorded in the preceding paragraph. Tyrone was most submissive and profuse in his promises, so he was permitted to return to Dungannon instead of being placed in confinement, as would have been the fate of a less astute politician.

CHAPTER VIII.
1594—1596.

Tyrone's narrow escape from detention ; Ulster in rebellion ; the Lord Deputy invades Ulster ; O'Neill demolishes his great house at Dungannon ; Brian of the battleaxes.

The Earl of Tyrone having got safely away from Dublin, fulfilled none of the promises of which he had been so lavish when there, and although kept well posted both by his friends at the Council board and officials had a much narrower escape than what he was aware of, as disclosed by a private letter from the Queen herself to to the Lord Deputy. To anyone familiar with the Irish State Papers it is not surprising, and for underhand dealing it would be hard to beat, yet it shows that Elizabeth had formed a much truer estimate of Hugh O'Neill and his activities than most of her ministers and officials. This is the gist of the letter dated 31st October, 1594. . . . " We enjoined you not to dismiss the Earl if once he came to you till our pleasure were known, and did not expect that any persuasion of the Council would have altered that which from us you had received.

We hold it strange that in all this space [of time] you have not

used some underhand way to bring in the Earl ; and we think that by setting division in his country, wherein full many there are which would be glad to be maintained against him, and by other sound means he may be disabled and reduced to conformity, which were more honourable to us and commendable in you than to be put to trouble for such a base person." (Cal. Car MSS. p. 101).

Although profitless it is certainly interesting to speculate on what would have been the fortunes of Ulster, had Sir William Russell carried out his instructions and detained the Earl of Tyrone a prisoner. Lacking the leadership of Hugh O'Neill, the remaining Ulster chiefs would have been like the beads of a necklace minus the cord, and thus lacking in unity it would have been an easy matter for the Government to reduce them singly to submission, instead of being as they were, on the eve of the great Tyrone war.

By the end of the year 1594 the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between the Earl of Tyrone and the Government, may be said to have ceased. Ostensibly he still kept the peace, but the activities of his brother Cormac, his support of Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne and other treasonable practices were well known to the Lord Deputy and Council, who became alarmed at so many rumours and signs of coming disturbance, and at their request a force of 3,000 men was sent over under the command of Sir John Norris.

O'Neill anticipated the arrival of the English reinforcements by striking first. Early in the spring of 1595 his half brother Art, captured the fort at Blackwater which was but slenderly held. Between this time and the landing of Sir John Norris and his army at Waterford (4 May, 1595), the Earl of Tyrone went into rebellion.

" Look forth, look forth Dungannon ! saw ye ever such a sight ?
Here are true hearts and manly swords, for Erin vowed to fight ;
From deer-trod hill and pasture land, where the flocks are winding slow,
From the blue hills of Tir-owen and the lakelands of the Roe."

The issue was now fairly knit, and long before Norris and his army could reach the North, Tyrone had invaded Louth which he burned up to the walls of Drogheda, and while Russell waited at Dublin for Norris, Maguire had recaptured Enniskillen, and on 24 June, 1595, Tyrone was proclaimed a traitor at Dundalk. O'Neill's forces at the outbreak of the rebellion were better trained than the English army and well supplied with both arms and ammunition. In proof of this Sir John Norris says that " 1,700 of the best footmen in Ireland, and near 300 horse at the Newry, they dare not undertake to march thence to Dundalk, which is but eight miles, and the way not very ill, but that they were fain to be sent by water."

On the 18th June (1595) the Lord Deputy set out from Dundalk

against Tyrone and O'Donnell, and came to Armagh on the 30th June, to find the town and abbey burned by the rebels and nothing left but the Cathedral Church. From thence the army drew near to the Blackwater, with the intention of crossing the river and capturing Dungannon if opportunity should serve. The Earl of Tyrone showed himself with all his forces on both sides of the river, and the second day of the English army's encamping at the Blackwater, he fired the houses of all his special gentlemen and followers to prevent their being made use of by the enemy, not sparing Dungannon itself, and he also razed to the gound the castle as well. O'Neill's first intention had been to fortify the castle, and some four days before the Lord Deputy's arrival had gathered together all the masons of the country, intending to have fortified it in the strongest manner. A considerable time previous to this he had made great ditches and ramparts about it, by, it was said, the advice of a Spaniard he had with him. Some traces of these old ramparts are yet visible on th castle hill. O'Neill, however, changed his mind, and the masons who had been assembled for the purpose of building up the castle were employed to demolish it instead, so " that the same overnight mustering very stately and high in the sight of all our army, the next day by noon it was so low that it could scarcely be discerned ; which eased the army of a great deal of trouble and her Majesty of great charge, that otherwise must have been in transporting the cannon which was already brought to the Newrie by sea over the Blackwater by land."

O'Neill's house or castle at Dungannon was a handsomer house than was common in this country at that time, and in 1595 another writer states it looked so imposing that it could be seen at Armagh twelve miles away. Doubtless the Earl of Tyrone knew his own business best, but in the light of after events the demolition of his new house at Dungannon was a mistake for this reason—the Lord Deputy and his army, or a considerable portion of it at any rate had advanced so far as the Blackwater fort, with O'Neill and his army on the other side, and the country between the Fort and Dungannon was thicky wooded, so that for the English army to advance with their " great artylleryes " through these woods swarming with well trained and well armed Irish soldiers would indeed have been a 'passage perilous.' We know how roughly Lord Burgh was handled a couple of years later, and what happened at the Yellow Ford in much more open country between Armagh and Blackwater.

It was in anticipation of the coming struggle that Tyrone imported great quantities of lead for the roofing of his great house at Dungannon, but which was used for casting bullets and thatch used instead. At this time the Earl kept his powder and military stores

in the stronghold that he had in *Marlacoo lough (Co. Armagh) doubtless in charge of his fosterers the O'Hagans, as earlier in his career he had settled both O'Hagans and O'Quinns in O'Neilland, indeed a little later (26 August, 1595) during a parley, Tyrone put in as pledges his son Con Mac an Earl, and Art Bradagh O'Hagan. Another island stronghold of which he made considerable use was situated in Roughan lough, it was here that he kept as prisoners Henry Oge and Con MacShane.

Turlogh Lynagh died about the first week in September, 1595, and the Earl lost no time in going to the stone at Tullahog to have himself formally inaugurated **O'Neill.** His brother-in-law, Sir Henry Bagenal, very kindly writes to Burghley from Newry (Sept. 9th and 12th), " Old O'Neill is dead and the traitor is gone to the stone to receive the name." This added nothing to his power, as he was already Captain of Tyrone, whatever being formally made the O'Neill may have added to his dignity and authority in the eyes of the clan, and he had already promised not to seek or take the title of **O'Neill.** The cause of this alteration in his conduct has been variously accounted for, but an old tradition that was current in the country attributes it wholly to the interference of a supernatural agent. According to this legend, for three nights previous to the calling of the assembly, the Banshee, or guardian spirit of the family, was heard in his Castle of Dungannon upbraiding him with his submission, conjuring him to throw aside the alien title with which his enemies had branded him, and promising him assistance.

Whatever may be its historical value, the foregoing tradition is interesting in connection with our subject and quite in keeping with the beliefs of the period.

Maoveen (little Maeve or Mab) is the name of the famous O'Neill banshee, literally a female fairy or spirit.

All the great Irish families, as the O'Donnells, O'Briens, O'Gradys, Kavanaghs and many others had each their family banshee.

" And whereso'er a scion of those great old houses be,
In the country of his fathers, or the land beyond the sea ;
In city, or in hamlet, by the valley, on the hill,
The spirit of his ancestors is watching o'er him still."

We get another glimpse of the life of the time in the " Examination of Piers O'Cullan, of Clogher, County Tyrone, Priest," taken at Drogheda, 29 September, 1595, where he says—" coming to Dublin departed presently northwards to the Earl of Tirone, being then at Magheralecoo, and newly calling himself O'Neale it being

* Marlacoo lough. Besides the townlands of Marlacoo-more and Beg there is the townland of Teemore—big house. Part of the lough is in the eastern portion of this townland.

Thursday the 18th September. He had direction from the Earl himself to go that night to he Earl's house of Dungannon to Momford, where he found both him and the Countess, and with him the next morning Monford returned to the Earl."

As yet there had been no serious fighting, Tyrone and O'Donnell spinning out the time in endless negociations with Government officials, while all the time in expectation of receiving substantial help from Philip II. of Spain. Early in the year 1596 a Spanish ship had put into Killybegs harbour where munitions were landed for O'Donnell, but the Spanish messenger, Alonso de Cobos came forty miles by land to see Tyrone, who took care to see him only in the presence of such trusted confederates as his brother Cormac, his secretary, Henry Hovenden, O'Donnell, O'Dogherty, his Seneschal, O'Hagan, and Art O'Hagan. The meeting probably took place at O'Donnell's castle of Lifford, as Tyrone as soon as he received news of the Spaniards' arrival, went off by from Dungannon to meet him accompanied by a bodyguard of one hundred shot. These were soldiers armed with matchlocks, most of the fighting men of the Irish chiefs were armed with bows and arrows which were much inferior in carrying power to even the clumsy firearms of that day ; spears, which were light and thrown from a distance, or the sparth, or battle-axe which in the hands of a powerful Irish gallowglas would split a man in halves. There was at this time a compatriot of O'Neill's known as Brian of the Battleaxes, son of Brian na murtha (of the ramparts) O'Rourke, the proudest man in Ireland in his day, and his son Brian (of the battleaxes) who succeeded as chief of Breffney O'Rourke had a famous company of battleaxe men who won the battle of the Curlew mountains, and annihilated Clifford's army for Red Hugh O'Donnell. As a little spark may light a great fire it was an earlier raid of this Brien O'Rourke into Connaught which stirred up Maguire to emulation, and it was in assisting Bagenal to quell Maguire's rebellion that Tyrone with reluctance performed his last service to Queen Elizabeth, but it was O'Rourke's action in those combustible provinces known as Ulster and Connaught, that started the conflagration known as the Nine Years' War.

What has been recorded of this struggle were merely the feints. and passes of the swordsmen on either side, neither being yet quite prepared to become locked in what was to be a life and death struggle. After endless parleys and negociations Tyrone made a submission of sorts and was granted her Majesty's pardon, dated 12 May, 1596, which reached him some time later. O'Neill was nothing if not polite and gracious, so he received it most dutifully ; there was great rejoicing and he caused a great volley of shot to be discharged in honour of the occasion.

CHAPTER IX.
1596—1599.

The manufacture of arms at Dungannon ; Lord Burgh makes an expedition to the north ; the fighting at Blackwater ; Tyrone makes submission and arranges for two months' truce ; Dungannon on the eve of the battle of the Yellow Ford ; Tyrone's victory.

After Tyrone accepted his pardon he remained tolerably quiet for a time, and being dominant over a great part of Ulster none of the lesser chiefs were in a position to give trouble. Hugh Roe O'Donnell who was all powerful in Tirconnell, was also master of the greater part of Connaught, anyone who resisted his authority being scourged into submission. If the government had their spies and talebearers " clashbags " is the expressive Ulster word for these gentry, the Earl of Tyrone was equally well served as there was nothing said or done at the Council table but the Earl had inteligence of it, as well as anything of the government's intentions that was known to his friends amongst the nobility of the Pale.

That Tyrone's authority over his urraghs, or tributary chiefs was no dead letter is shown by a report from Captain James Fitzgarrett on 12th August, 1596, in which he says that he (Fitzgarrett) and the High Sheriff of Lecale (County Down) went from Newry tow rds Dungannon to seek the release of two men who were taken prisoners by the MacCartans. While at Dungannon it was certainly affirmed that the Earl had £2,000 worth of powder and munitions, and he saw at Dungannon Scottishmen making calivers and fowling pieces.

In the following month (27 September, 1596) Spaniards were landed from nine ships at Inishowen. On intelligence of this reaching the Earl he rode off post haste, but before his departure made a proclamation in Dungannon that, upon the pain of death no man should say anything of the ships that were come for they were but Scottish.

After the fort at Blackwater, now in his possession, Tyrone's greatest objection was to the English garrison at Armagh, which served as a curb on his activities, and during the winter tried to surprise this post. At Christmas he threatened his brother-in-laws' town of Newry with 5,000 men, but on the arrival of Sir John Norris there he allowed Armagh to be revictualled.

Sir William Russell, the Lord Deputy, worn out in body and mind was succeeded in the chief governorship by Lord Burgh, who arrived in the month of May, 1597. Early in July, the new Lord Deputy

made an expedition to the north. Writing from his camp at Newry on 12th July, 1597, to Sir Robert Cecil, he says: "This day, God willing, I will march so far as to-morrow I will lodge on the Blackwater; and so I hope to work all night, as the next morning to 'beat* the Diana' in the proud traitors fort which he hath made upon the ford." The Lord Deputy was fortunate in reaching the Blackwater without being attacked, and captured by surprise at daybreak the fort which Tyrone had erected on the northern bank of the river. Next day O'Neill made a strenuous effort to regain the position, and when Burgh had on "Friday assembled most of his soldiers to hear a sermon and pray to God" his outposts were sharply attacked. A lieutenant with a party of shot was ordered to drive the enemy from the bog and wood side, but being unable to effect this the Lord Deputy sent Captain Turner with a body of horse across the ford to make their way up the Armagh side of the river towards Benburb, the intention being to force the enemy from the ground by attacking them in the rere; Captain Turner's instructions being that if he found the ground suitable to pass forward to the pass behind Benburb but to be sure and preserve an open line of retreat. This in the ardour of combat the Camp master forgot with the result that he endangered the whole army and it took Burgh's utmost exertions to save the situation, not however without losing many officers and gentlemen volunteers.

On the sketch map from which the plan of Dungannon fort is taken which forms the frontispiece, this pass is shown as well as a second pass between Benburb and Dungannon. It may have been made in connection with these operations but it is bound up in a volume of State Papers for 1598.

While the Lord Deputy was retrieving the fortune of the battle, he left the camp in charge of Sir Henry Bagenal, whom in a later despatch he commends as a "careful and good officer to her Majesty."

"On Sunday night [15th July, 1597] he [Lord Burgh] gave orders to some of Marshal Bagenal's horsemen who were acquainted with the country, to dismount and burn Dungannon town and all the rebels' mills, which exploit, to the great annoyance of the Earl of Tyrone was executed, and the party returned safely." Burgh in this despatch, is evidently making what little capital he can out of what was a really disastrous expedition in which his army was very roughly handled by O'Neill, and with the woods and passes swarming with Tyrone's soldiers it is not at all probable that Bagenal's dismounted horsemen did much harm.

The Lord Deputy had intended to penetrate further into Tyrone

* To beat the Diana. "Diana" was the name of a tune popular at this time In a MS. volume of the time of Elizabeth or James I., in the British Museum, No. 15,225, there is "A Song made by F.B.P. to the tune of 'Diana.'"

and perhaps plant a garrison at Dungannon, but lack of provisions prevented him making any further effort, as at the time of his return he had not a single head of cattle left. He therefore dislodged from the fort on the 2 August, 1597, leaving what men and munitions he could afford, and marched to Newry there to await the expected supplies out of the Pale. "Till they come," says Fenton, "his Lordship is driven to feed his army with biscuit and good words."

After considerable difficulty and some delay the much needed help enabled Burgh to revictual and reinforce the Blackwater fort, but the Lord Deputy made the strategical mistake of abandoning Armagh, which had been garrisoned up till this time and provided a suitable halfway house between Newry and the Blackwater. Meantime in the intervals of fighting Tyrone kept the Government officials amused with negociations which were merely intended to gain time until the arrival of the hoped for succour from Spain, and as soon as the Lord Deputy's back was turned he besieged the Blackwater Fort. On hearing of the investment of the post Lord Burgh as soon as possible proceeded to its relief, but when he reached Armagh (6 October, 1597) he fell dangerously sick of an Irish ague, but dauntlessly pressed on and achieved his object. It had been the Lord Deputy's object to penetrate much farther into O'Neill's country, but his sickness increased so much that he was obliged to return to Armagh in a litter, and thence to Newry, where he died 13 October, 1597, leaving O'Neill and O'Donnell as far from being subdued as ever.

During the interregnum that intervened before the appointment of a new Lord Deputy, the supreme military command in Ireland was conferred on Ormonde. Him Tyrone had no objection to meeting, and for this purpose sought an interview at Dundalk 22 December, 1597, where he made the usual humble submission and acknowledged with the usual regrets his late relapse and defection. There were the customary contracts and obligations, and Tyrone's request for a two months' truce was agreed to. Bagenal writing to Fenton on 12 January, 1597-8 had but small news to impart—"Tyrone is returned to Dungannon and has dispersed his forces. He holds the truce in reasonable good manner . . . the full proportion of victuals for Blackwater fort is already sent thither."

The so-called fort at Blackwater was but an entrenchment intended to shelter 100 men. Lord Burgh had left 300 men there, and sickness was the result of this overcrowding. The truce expired 7 June, 1598, and once more the fort was besieged, Tyrone swearing that he would never leave it untaken. By the month of July the garrison were in dire straits, when the Government decided to send an expedition for their relief. Meantime, Tyrone, who was as efficiently served by his spies as the Government, were by theirs, was

aware of the force being mustered against him, and in addition to maintaining a strict blockade around the doomed stronghold, made great plashes between Armagh and Blackwater, sunk holes in all the fords and threw up a trench where he intendeed to make his principal stand.

Dungannon, of which an unpublished sketch forms the frontispiece of the present volume, must have been an exciting place to live in during the month of August, 1598, when Tyrone summoned his urraghs and his allies to his aid. There came at his call O'Hanlon of Oriel, hereditary standard bearer of Ulster, James M'Sorley [MacDonnel] of Antrim, Magennis of Down, Maguire of Fermanagh and MacMahon of Monaghan, with all the lesser chieftains who followed their rising out. There too with speed came his trusty confederate, Red Hugh O'Donnell, bringing M'William with 1,000 Connaught clansmen and 1,000 of the fighting men of Tirconnell. Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who was no stranger to Dungannon, was the most dashing guerilla leader of his time and one of the most remarkable men that Ireland has produced. O'Mooney, who most probably had personal knowledge of Hugh Roe, describes him as being of middle height, ruddy, of comely face, and beautiful to beho'd, his voice like the music of a silver trumpet. His morals were unimpeachable. The "Four Masters" say—"the look of amiability on his countenance captivated everyone who beheld him.

The month of July had passed and August was passing as well, but no succour reached the beleagured fort, yet Williams and his men held grimly on, vainly watching for the longed for aid, when early on Monday, 14 August (1598) the welcome sound of cannon announced that a battle was being fought by the army that was at last advancing to their relief. The slackening of the encircling ring of the besiegers, the hurrying of men to the front, told to their experienced eyes the story plainly enough, as they stood in that ruined earthwork above the river Blackwater, and gazed across the hills of Armagh eagerly trying to make out the fortune of the fight. The men of the garrison were far too faint with hunger and feeble from sickness to sally forth and attack O'Neill in the rear, thus creating a diversion in favour of their deliverers; they could only remain at their post and wait and hope.

The battle of the Yellow Ford has often been described and needs no repetition in this history. Sir Henry Bagenal, Tyrone's brother-in-law and bitter enemy, who commanded the relieving force, was slain and the English army utterly routed. The shattered remains of the defeated force lying at Armagh was only able to return to the Pale by the goodwill of Tyrone. The undaunted Williams, despite the untoward issue of the battle, refused to surrender the fort, which he held for two days after the fight, until informed of the ar-

rangement made with the Earl of Tyrone, when, in accordance with its terms he yielded up the place and with his men joined their comrades at Armagh.

Tyrone levelled the defences of the fort and for the next two years was the uncrowned King of Celtic Ireland. Mabel Bagenal did not live to witness the fall of her brother fighting against her husband, having died in the spring of 1596.

The office of Lord Deputy left vacant by the death of Lord Burgh in 1597 was not filled until Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Essex, came to Ireland in the spring of 1599, with the higher title of Lord Lieutenant, and more ample powers than any of this immediate predecessors. How Tyrone out manoeuvred him in the field and outwitted him in diplomacy belongs to the general history of Ireland.

CHAPTER X.

1600—1601.

Mountjoy arrives in Ireland ; Ormonde captured by the rebels; Hugh Roe makes a new Maguire ; Dowcra establishes himself at Derry ; help arrives from Spain ; Mountjoy's plan of campaign.

When in the month of September, 1599, the Earl of Essex deserted his post and made his fateful journey to England, the government of Ireland remained in the hands of the Lords Justices for some months. At length on an afternoon in February, 1600, the new Lord Deputy, accompaied by Sir George Carew, President of Munster, landed at the hill of Howth, and lodged that night at Lord Howth's house. Next day Mountjoy, accompanied by his colleague, rode to Dublin to receive the sword of State, and where the Council duly informed them of the miserable state of the country almost the whole island being under the sway of Tyrone and his ally, Hugh Roe O'Donnell. O'Neill was at this time in Munster with a strong force, but while Carew was detained in Dublin with Mountjoy and the Council, he, with a portion of his force, hurriedly returned north to Dungannon, from whence we find a spy writing " You shall understand that I came to Dungannon on Wednesday last (19 March, 1600). Tyrone is here as I wrote. Finninge M'Arty's pledges are now with Tyrone at Dungannon and other pledges of that country." Tyrone when in Munster had been settling family quarrels between the M'Carthys, and for their loyalty and adhesion to his awards had taken pledges in the usual way. A much more important hostage was captured by Owen M'Rory

(O'More) in the month of April. This was no less a personage than the Earl of Ormonde, who, going incautiously to a parley with O'More, without a sufficient escort, was captured, and Sir George Carew, the Lord President of Munster, who accompanied him, only escaped with the greatest difficulty. O'More was an ally of the Earl of Tyrone, who at once saw what a trump card it would be to get the great southern potentate into his hands. 'Use him honourably,' he wrote, from Dungannon, 'but keep him very sure until he can be sent hither by the help of yourself and such as we have appointed for that purpose. Therefore be not tempted to enlarge him upon any proffer, for if you will desire ransom you shall have money and gold at my hands.'

O'More had no intention of surrendering his distinguished prisoner who was released after two months' detention, having delivered hostages into M'Rory's hands for the payment of a ransom of £3,000.

When Tyrone hastily quitted the south of Ireland upon the arrival of Mountjoy as Lord Deputy, he left behind him about 1,800 men in Munster, under his son-in-law, Hugh Maguire, who, on or about the last day of February (1600) made a raid in the immediate neighbourhood of Cork. Sir Warham St. Ledger and Sir Henry Power, the acting Commissioners for Munster, went for a ride accompanied by a small body of men, who were marching at ease in loose order when they came in contact with Maguire's party. St. Ledger drew a dagg or pistol and shot Maguire through the body, but the latter had still strength enough left to give his adversary a mortal wound with a half pike. The death of Maguire was not only a great personal loss to Tyrone, but the vacancy thus left in the chieftanship of Fermanagh was sure to give rise to quarrels within the clan of which the English would not be slow to take advantage. There were two candidates for the dignity of Maguire. These were Conor Roe, son of Conor Maguire, and Cuconnaught Oge. Conor applied to Hugh O'Neill to inaugurate him in the chieftanship, but the latter not wishing to arouse the anger of Hugh Roe by appointing anyone contrary to his wishes, as both O'Neill and O'Donnell at one time or another, claimed and exercised the overlordship of Fermanagh, sent messengers to O'Donnell inviting him to a conference so that the matter might be amicably settled As this is the most graphic account of a banquet and political meeting combined which was held in Dungannon in the olden time, we cannot do better than give it in the words of Lughaidh O'Clery, the biographer of Red Hugh O'Donnell:

"When O'Neill's messengers reached Hugh Roe, he went with a select body of his troops accompanied by his brother Rury and Cuconach Oge [Maguire], and did not halt till they came to

where O'Neill was with his chief men round him taking counsel on the same subject. When he dismounted at the lawn of the castle, he ordered his attendants to remain together in one close group apart from them. O'Neill sent his people and his trusty men to entertain the prince who had come and to invite him to make known his opinion, to see if he could succeed in alluring him craftily to one opinion with himself. He came immediately, and they were merry and confiding one in the other. When O'Donnell was seated in the company of O'Neill, he proceeded to declare and make known to O'Donnell the question and the business as well as he could, and to set out distinctly every reason which had occurred to his mind why it was right to give Conor Maguire the title of chief. After listening for some time in silence to the Prince O'Neill, he said that it was not his wish at all to appoint Conor to the Chieftaincy, for he was on the side of the party of the English of Dublin, and with the foreign race who were by nature opposed to the Irish of the province, and he would not be a party to its subjugation as long as he lived. O'Neill's mind was not pleased with the answer which O'Donnell gave him, for he knew it was not easy to oppose or contradict him in whatever subject he set his hand to.

"The princes proceeded to feast and to drink after that. They seated themselves in the banqueting hall according to their dignity, O'Donnell face to face with O'Neill, and Conor Maguire next him, and the chief men in their due order also. The butlers proceeded to attend and serve them after a while. Meantime when O'Neill took the goblet with wine in his hand, he drank a draught to O'Donnell. O'Donnell took the cup from the butler's hand, and looked aside, and gave a quick glance of his keen eye through the hall all round. He did not see Cuconach in the house, and as he did not see him he ordered him to be called to him immediately. This was done for him, and when he came he bade him sit by the side of his brother Rury in the place of honour of the palace in the midst of the people. When Cuconach was seated he drank to him the bowl that was in his hand to the bottom, and gave him the title of Maguire in the presence of the chief men of the province universally, without the permission or advice of any one who did not like that he should be appointed in the place of his brother and father before. They passed the night, some of them merrily and pleasantly and others with sad thoughts and doubts, in consequence of the appointment we have mentioned. When the day shone out with full light on the morrow O'Donnell took leave of O'Neill and his chief men also, and he and Maguire with their people went to their homes glad and in high spirits."

In pursuance of the government's policy Sir Henry Dowcra with a strong force proceeded to establish himself at Derry in the

month of May, 1600. In this position he could act as a check on Tyrone and Red Hugh O'Donnell. To prevent O'Neill's forces being directed against Dowcra before he was in a position to stand a siege, Mountjoy himself moved northwards at the same time, and 'Tyrone who lay with his forces before Strabane upon notice of Mountjoy being at the Newry, rose presently and on the 13th May came to Dungannon, on the 14th brake down the fort of Blackwater, the next day he drew to Loughbrickland . . . !'

There was some sharp fighting between the two forces, but Mountjoy waited at Newry till he heard that Derry was safe and then returned to Dublin. Tyrone and O'Donnell with about 5,000 men threatened the new settlement at Derry, but the garrison stood fast and nothing was done.

In the month of November (1600) two Spanish ships put into Broadhaven with money, arms, and ammunition for the Irish. O'Donnell sent the foreigners word that Killybegs would be a better place for them, and also announced their arrival to Tyrone. At length the Spaniards put into the little harbour of Teelin, whence the cargo was carried to Donegal, and divided between the two chiefs.

Having now got his war chest replenished, Tyrone made a proclamation (about December) at Dungannon and Armagh that any soldiers who would come to serve him would receive pay. With regard to the treasure sent, a spy writes to Sir Geoffry Fenton from Dungannon, 22 January, 1600-1: "Assure yourself there is very near 40,000 crowns come out of Spain, the truth whereof I could not discover till now. The money is dispersed for Munster, Connaught and Leinster, and O'Donnell and Tyrone hath a third part of the whole. There came two horse loads of silver to Dungannon yesternight on Tyrone's part, and he hath given proclamation that that money shall pass through all the country as other money on pain of death." Fenton when sending on this report to Sir Robert Cecil enclosed a piece of the Spanish money, and asked that it be tested whether it was counterfeit or not, and stated that he would circulate rumours that the silver was not good but forged.

Mountjoy having attended to the various matters requiring his attention during the winter of 1600 and spring of 1601, set out for Dundalk at the end of May. He then cleared the Moyry pass and established a post there, also another which he named Mountnorris, after Sir John Norris, his master in the art of war. Before the end of June he placed a garrison of 750 foot and 100 horse in Armagh, under Sir Henry Danvers. His plan of campaign is outlined in a note of the "Disposal of the Queen's forces for this summer's (1601) . . . To plant at Armagh and Blackwater, to make a little loop skonce between them both, to see great store of hay made

in time for horses at Armagh and Mountnorris against winter, to lie all the summer close to Tyrone and perchance carry the army into his country."

In the month of July the Lord Deputy and his army marched to the Blackwater, where, after some desultory fighting, they occupied the old ruined fort., Two days after a regiment of Irish under Sir Christopher St. Lawrence marched to Benburb, " the old house of Shane O'Neill," at the entrance to great woods. They were promptly attacked by Tyrone, who was lying at Tobermason, and as it is written " there was the sorest fight for three hours that was ever in this kingdom."

For the next few days the pioneers were busy in erecting and fortifying a new fort at the Blackwater not far distant from the old one.

While the pioneers and soldiers were busied with the erection of the new fort, the Lord Deputy " sent 300 foot to occupy another hill adjoining the old fort lying beyond the water, and followed with his staff to view the position. This little expedition was attended with much danger as they were strongly attacked by O'Neill's forces, and convinced Mountjoy that O'Neill's stronghold of Dungannon was inaccessible from this point. Having seen two convoys of victuals from Newry safely deposited in the Fort, the Lord Deputy on 29th July, 1601, marched safely past the Fort on the Armagh side of the river some three miles further on, and encamped close upon the Bogs and Fastnesses (fortified passages) in the wood.

In the report of the Lord Deputy and Council to the English Privy Council, written 9th August, 1601, from the camp near Mountnorris, after describing the amount of the enemy's corn that had been destroyed, the report goes on to say that " In ranging through the country we have, however, discovered a new way unto Dungannon which no man before could tell of, and by cutting one very broad ' pace ' [passage] through a thick wood, which we performed in two days, we came to a river [the Blackwater] within four miles of Dungannon, from whence there is a ' plain open way ' thither.

" The opening of the new way to Dungannon lays open the principal fastness for their cattle, and although we have not taken many of their cows this summer yet have we made them keep them close together in such woods and places of strength as they are wont to reserve for them in winter, and caused them to eat the very corn they have sowed in their fastnesses, so that if they must keep them there both their cattle and themselves will starve."

On the 23rd August, 1601, the army returned to Armagh on their way homeward, and they were not to return till the following summer.

CHAPTER XI.
1601—1607.

Spaniards land at Kinsale ; O'Donnell and Tyrone march south to be defeated ; the Lord Deputy encamps at Dungannon and places a garrison there ; Tyrone submits ; his quarrel with O'Cahan ; the flight of the Earls.

It had been Mountjoy's intention to seize Dungannon and prosecute a vigorous winter campaign, for O'Neill though bridled by fortresses still held mid-Ulster in unbroken strength, and Red Hugh O'Donnell though sorely hampered by the treachery of Niall Garve, was still a menace to Connaught. The Lord Deputy and the President of Munster were with Ormonde at Kilkenny, when a messenger arrived post haste to say that the long talked of Spanish fleet had been sighted off the Old Head of Kinsale, and on the 23rd September they entered the harbour and took possession of the town. This completely changed Mountjoy's plans. He and Carew mustered their forces in all haste and at the end of three weeks encamped on the north side of Kinsale with an army of 12,000 men.

Don Juan de Aguila at once sent a message to O'Neill and O'Donnell to hasten south without delay. O'Donnell at once set off southward making a wonderful march over the Slieve Phelim mountains to avoid Carew who had been sent to intercept him, but Tyrone did not set out till early in November, arriving at Kinsale on the 21st December. The battle of Kinsale in which Tyrone and his allies were defeated is one of the landmarks in Irish history. Red Hugh O'Donnell set out for Spain to seek further help, while Tyrone journeyed back northward harassed at every step by active foes, his prestige lowered by defeat.

O'Neill remained presumably at Dungannon during the remainder of the winter and through the spring and it was not until the beginning of June, 1602, that the Lord Deputy gathered the army together and marched up the Blackwater to the passage, which the previous year, he had discovered to be the most convenient for carrying her Majesty's forces into the heart of Ulster. Here he spent some time in building a bridge across the Blackwater and a fort adjoining to guard it, which he named Charlemont. While this was being done a portion of the army was encamped on each side of the river as a precaution against attack.

On 2nd July, 1602, the Lord Deputy writing to Sir George Carew, says : " I have made a new passage over the Blackwater to the eastward of the fort I last year built, near a place called Don-

danall [Dunvally], from whence I have discovered a plain open entrance into Tyrone, free from paces [wooded passages], woods, and bogs, that when Tyrone saw me possessed thereof he presently set fire to Dungannon and fled with his Creaghts into the woods. Insomuch, as within the day after I had secured my passage, I marched to Dungannon with only 500 foot, and 100 horse, and then returned to finish the forts which I raised on both sides of the river. Which done I drew over the whole army, and the 27th June I encamped at Dungannon."

The next day Mountjoy was joined by Sir Henry Dowcra, who came with his forces from Omagh, where he had been planting a garrison, and the combined forces marched towards Lough Neagh to meet Sir Arthur Chichester who was coming across the lough from Massareene. The weather turning out very stormy rendered it impossible for Chichester to reach the rendezvous. Not to waste time the Lord Deputy encamped at Roughan lough, in which was an island strongly fortified, where O'Neill kept his prisoners and hostages. This island was captured, and in it was found one of Shane O'Neill's sons (Con), and three pieces of artillery which were a part of those captured at the Yellow Ford. The island and its fort were no sooner taken than word came that Sir Arthur Chichester had landed at the place appointed, whereupon the army marched hither and set to work on the erection of Mountjoy fort overlooking Lough Neagh.

While this was going on the Earl of Tyrone after burning Dungannon, had retreated to the fastness of Glenconkeine, with his creaghts following, which was a timely precaution, as Mountjoy carrying out the policy of the time proceeded, in his own words to " hunt all their woods, spoil their corn, burn their houses, and kill so many churls, as it grieves me to think it necessary to do it."

Such was the barbarous method of waging war, and Mountjoy was neither better nor worse than his opponents. While Red Hugh O'Donnell was lying at Moydrum in O'Meagher's country, waiting for Tyrone to join him in the relief of Kinsale, the annalist records that his people ' continued plundering, burning, and ravaging the country around them so that there was no want of any necessary for an army in his camp for any period long or short.'

After finishing Mountjoy and Charlemont forts the Lord Deputy proceeded to Monaghan, from whence on 19th July, 1602, he writes to the English Privy Council...." We have taken his strongest island fort (Roughan island, or Cranoge), recovered some pieces of the Queen's artillery, made him quit the rest [of his country] and have utterly banished his partizans out of these parts, and, lastly, we have taken his island of Magherlecowe [Marlacoo] which next to Dungannon was his strongest place."

Towards the end of August the Lord Deputy was once more in the neighbourhood, and on the 29th of that month his Lordship passed the bridge at Charlemont over the Blackwater, and that night encamped at Dungannon, which he proceeded to put in a state of defence, and left a garrison there to keep the place, so that it would serve as a retreat to parties of men going out on service, and also to preserve the oats growing thereabouts for the use of the horses of the neighbouring garrisons during the winter. Sir Henry Dowcra was left in charge at Dungannon, having under his command 20 horse, and 150 foot.

With his country ravaged and himself driven to the inaccessible fastness of Glenconkeine, Tyrone was now at the end of his resources. There were posts and garrisons everywhere—at Toome on the Bann, at Mountjoy on Lough Neagh, at Augher, at Blackwatertown, at Charlemont, and in his own home town of Dungannon—Dowcra in the north and Chichester in the south were in possession of the land. In December, 1602, Dowcra came to Dungannon with 450 English foot and 50 horse, and with 200 O'Cahan and 100 O'Dogherty kerne. Chichester was to join with him but this movement miscarried, and Tyrone still held out in his fastnesses. Reduced though he was while O'Neill remained at large and unsubdued, he was still a force to be reckoned with in case of another Spanish invasion. The war was a huge drain on England's resources, and on the Queen's initiative the Viceroy sent Sir William Godolphin and Sir Garrett Moore to treat with Tyrone. Queen Elizabeth died 24th March, 1603, but Mountjoy who knew this on the 27th kept the news concealed, and O'Neill on 30th March, made his submission at Drogheda. On April 4th Tyrone reached Dublin with the Viceregal party, and on the 5th Sir Henry Danvers arrived from England with the official tidings of the Queen's decease. King James was at once proclaimed amid the acclamations of the people, but the great chieftain had missed the tide.

When Mountjoy crossed to England at the beginning of June, 1603, he was accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, whom his brother's death made head of the clan. They were favourably received at Court, O'Neill being made the King's Lieutenant in Tyrone and even obtained an order for £600 on the Irish Treasury. After his return in the month of August, Tyrone lived for some time at Drogheda. Notwithstanding his many submissions O'Neill set about establishing his former authority over the under chiefs of the territory, particularly O'Cahan, which soon led to friction as it was bound to do, but Mountjoy, now resident in England, remained his steady friend at Court, and on his death, 3rd April, 1606, Tyrone lost his most influential patron.

Sir Arthur Chichester who had gained experience as Governor

of Carrickfergus was sworn in as Lord Deputy 3rd February, 1604-5. He was by no means so enamoured with the Earl of Tyrone as Lord Mountjoy had become after making the acquaintance of the redoubtable northern chieftain. It was a great disappointment to many of the English officials that the territories of Tyrone and Donegal were not confiscated to the Crown, instead of Tyrone and Tyrconnell being reinstated. O'Neill's endeavours to re-establish his former authority played into their hands. In 1606 the quarrel between the Earl of Tyrone and O'Cahan broke out afresh, when in addition to Sir Henry Dowcra, Montgomery, Bishop of Derry, for his own ends, took O'Cahan's part. In pursuance of this policy Montgomery took O'Cahan with him to Dublin to lay his case before the Privy Council. As they rode through Dungannon, Tyrone's son, Hugh, came out with sixteen horsemen, to salute his lordship and escort him part of the way, and then returned home. The bishop feared that he had come to take O'Cahan from him, for which he does not seem to have had any grounds. Describing a visit in 1599 when Tyrone was at the height of his power, Sir John Harrington tells us that the earl's two sons, Hugh and Henry, were between 15 and 13 years of age, dressed in English clothes with velvet jerkins and gold lace, of good cheerful aspect, freckled, not tall but strong, well set, and acquainted with the English tongue. When Hugh O'Neill paid his courtesy to the bishop he would be a young man. O'Cahan and his sponsor after making their plaint to the Privy Council, returned north and meeting with Tyrone at Dungannon, the latter said to the bishop : " My lord, you have two or three bishoprics, and yet you are not content with them but seek the lands of my earldom." " My lord," replied the bishop, " your earldom is swollen so big with the lands of the **church** that it will burst if it be not vented." (Carlton's " Thankful Remembrance.")

About the middle of April, 1607, Tyrone and O'Cahan appeared before the Lord Deputy and Council for the purpose of adjusting their differences. A squabble between the parties arose at the council board and no decision was arrived at. Nothing further affecting Tyrone's relations with the state happened until August, 1607, when Chichester informed the earl that both he and O'Cahan were to go to England, where their differences would be decided by the King himself.

During the summer there had been rumours of plots and of intrigues with foreign countries by the northern chieftains, and the government was decidedly uneasy. In this atmosphere of uncertainty and suspicion Tyrone felt that if he went to England he would most likely be detained a prisoner. Meantime a ship had been procured on the continent by Maguire which put into Lough Swilly about the end of August. The earl was with Lord Deputy

Chichester at Slane on Thursday, 28th August (O.S.), conferring with him about his intended visit to England when he received information of the arrival of the ship. He left on Saturday, travelling north, passed through Armagh on Monday and continued his journey to Creeve, one of his crannoges, situated in Creeve lough in the territory of Muntir Birn, now Minterburn, lying about two miles from Caledon. Here he halted for an entire day until he was joined by the Countess and her suite from Dungannon, and on Wednesday the party resumed their journey to Rathmullan, where the ship was lying and found Rory, Earl of Tirconnell, and his company already awaiting them. The Earl of Tyrone was accompanied by his countess and his three sons, Hugh, John, and Brian, and Art Oge, the son of Cormac MacBaron. In the hurry of departure Con, another son of Tyrone's who was at fosterage, was left behind. At midnight on the 14th September, they set sail making for the open sea, and after a perilous voyage of twenty-one days landed at Quilleboeuf in Normandy.

Against Tyrone there was nothing but hearsay rumours, and no shadow of proof has ever turned up that at the time of his flight he meditated any overt act against the state. Exiles are generally sanguine, and Tyrone hoped to return to Ireland at no distant date, but the years glided by, and he died in Rome, 20th July, 1616. Ireland preserves his memory, and the church of Montorio " by the Tiber's tawny flow " preserves his ashes. Such in brief is the story of the event known in history as " the flight of the Earls."

CHAPTER XII.

1607—1610.

Captain Leigh placed in charge of the castle of Dungannon; first Tyrone Assizes held at Dungannon ; live stock and furnishings left behind by the Earl of Tyrone.

O'Neill's brother Cormac MacBaron, who resided at Augher, accompanied the earl on his flight as far as Rathmullan, then with a great show of virtue and loyalty, after the fugitives were well on their way reported the exodus to the Lord Deputy at Slane at the same time requesting the appointment of receiver. The Crown instead of granting his request, suspected him of complicity, confined him in Dublin castle and afterwards sent him to the Tower, appointing Sir Toby Caulfield as the receiver of Tyrone's rents.

The flight of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell Earl of Tirconnell, played into the hands of the government who

lost no time in having the vast territories which these chieftains ruled over, declared as forfeited to the crown, and forthwith determined on what is now known as the Ulster Plantation.

One of the first acts of the Irish executive was to place Captain Dermond Leigh, of Omagh, who was High Sheriff of CountyTyrone in charge of the castle of Dungannon, with a company of 20 warders for this service, Sir Toby Caulfield afterwards disbursed out of Tyrone's rents the sum of £21, for 42 days ending the 6th November, 1607, at 6d a-piece, sterling.

Up till the depa. tu e of the earl the King's writ did not run in the county Tyrone. Prior to that occurrence, notwithstanding the terms of his earl's patent under Elizabeth, or, the by far larger and more comprehensive terms of his submission at the accession of James I., no actual change took place in the government and administration of the territory which continued by gaelic usage as heretofore. A sheriff had been appointed during the brief Lord Deputyship of Sir George Carey, but the office was only nominal, and it was not until July, 1608, that Chichester, then in the north at Armagh, sent back to Dublin for two Commissioners under the Great Seal, one for Oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, the other for surveying O'Doherty's lands.

After holding their first Assizes at Armagh they went on to Dungannon, where many rebels were brought in daily, who were executed for the most part by martial law, but some by verdict of jury. Amongst these Shane Carragh O'Cahan, the murderer of Denis O'Mullan and his brother, who was concerned in O'Doherty's rebellion as well, being tried by common law and found guilty, was accordingly executed in camp and his head set on the castle of Dungannon, which it seems was a new experience for the people of these parts. A further sensation was caused in Dungannon by a monk who had been a principal councillor to O'Doherty, and was taken in Burt castle, who volunteered and in the sight of all the people cast off his religious habit and renounced his obedience to the Pope; whereupon the Deputy gave him his life and liberty. The monk was shrewder than the Deputy.

While the Assizes were being held at Dungannon the Treasurer (Sir Thomas Ridgeway) and Sir John Davys, Attorney General, proceeded with the Commission of Escheat and took an Inquisition at Dungannon, whereby they surveyed all the county of Tyrone, and found all the temporal land in the county escheated to the Crown by the outlawry of the late earls (excepting two ballibetaghs) which were granted to Tirlogh MacHenry Oge O'Neill by the King). This was the territory of Muntirbirn granted to Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, of Kenard (see the writer's 'History of the Territory of Minterburn and Town of Caledon.').

In "Certain notes of remembrance touching the plantation and settlement of the escheated lands in Ulster, September, 1608," it is stated regarding Tyrone—"In this county they hold the forts of Mountjoy, Omey, and the ruined castle of Dungannon by the King's garrison and wards." A further note is—"Downeganon [Dungannon] to be made a corporation."

In the spring of 1609 Sir Robert Jacob, the Solicitor-general, was sent on circuit to act as Judge of Assize, and he reports that "when they came to Dungannon and kept their assizes there they found that country which was wont to be the receptacle of all traitors in the best order of all Ulster. There was not one arraigned for treason, but only some few petty felonies. All that county is in peace, and exceedingly well governed by the discreet and temperate carriage of Sir Toby Caulfield, upon whom they rely, and by whom they will be very much directed."

During the summer of 1609 the Lord Deputy (Chichester) and his attendants made a progress through Northern Ireland, and held assizes in every county through which they passed. They were at Armagh on Monday, 7th August, and having finished their business there, on the following Saturday, 12th August, they rose and passed by Charlemont on the Blackwater through woods and passes, but the hotel accommodation of Dungannon in the year 1609 was evidently not very good, as they pitched their tents within three miles of Dungannon, and began the assizes, and other business in the county Tyrone. The 24th they marched towards Coleraine, and after holding the Derry assizes at Limavady proceeded to Donegal where they held the assizes for that county.

In the project of Plantation the Barony of Dungannon, then not divided, was allotted to Servitors and Natives, and consisted of two great proportions of 2,000 acres, one middle proportion of 1,500 acres, and seven small proportions of 1,000 acres each. The other baronies of Tyrone were allotted to Scottish Undertakers.

By the year 1610 the castle of Dungannon had probably been put into some sort of repair, as in a paper dated 30th September, John Meeke is returned as ward of Dungannon, having a constable and 12 warders, with Thomas Ledsame as porter there.

As the plantation of county Tyrone proceeded a receiver for the rents of the Earl of Tyrone gradually ceased to be required, accordingly we find Sir Toby Caulfield who had acted in that capacity making his return to the government, of "The Collection of Tyrone's rents from his flight in 1607 to 1st November, 1610, when the lands were given out to Undertakers." In this interesting document we get a great deal of information regarding the rents payable to the earl in money and kind, as well as a note of his household furnishings left behind in his residence at Dungannon.

Under the heading of "Duty butters, oats, meal, muttons (sheep), and hogs received out of said lands."

"Butters which were so ill made after the country manner as they were scarce worth any money, yet were they sold at the rate of 15s a barrel, viz., 30 tons or thereabouts, which at £6 a ton cometh to .. Sterling £180 os od.

Oats received in the same time for the like duties, about 300 barrels at 8d a barrel .. Sterling £10 os od.

Oatmeal also received in the said time, brought in "raskans," which were 240, making by estimation 120 barrels at 3s sterling the barrel .. £18 os od.

Muttons [sheep] received in the same time, 300 at 2s sterling a-piece .. £30 o; od.

Hogs likewise received at the same time 72 at 3s sterling a-piece .. £10 16s od

There was a certain amount of live stock belonging to the Countess of Tyrone, viz., 32 cows, whereof 12 were claimed by Nicholas Weston and James Magennis, who made good their claims and these were ordered to be restored. The remainder were valued at 15s a-piece. The Countess of Tyrone was one of the Magenisses of Down, so that James Magennis was a relative or retainer of hers. Plough mares with colts were valued at 5s a-piece, and heifers at 10s a-piece, steers at 13/4 a-piece, and calves at 4s a-piece, while the sheep all died, consequently they yielded nothing.

The inventory of the Earl of Tyrone's stock and household furnishings is very meagre for a person of his estate and dignity, but there must be borne in mind the enormous cost of the ten years' war against England, which would have bled white a much more ample territory than that of Tyrone.

A few items from the plenishings of O'Neill's residence at the time of his flight in the year of grace, 1607, form an interesting contrast to the recent sale of the effects of the Earl of Ranfurly. Here are a few examples that may be useful to auctioneers and valuers as showing the prices of furniture in Dungannon, in the days when James I. was King :—

Two long tables, 10/- ; 2 long forms, 5/- ; an old bedstead, 3/- ; an old trunk, 3/- ; a long stool, 1/- ; 8 hogsheads, 1/- ; half a cwt. of hops, 30/- ; 3 hogsheads of salt, £1 8s 6d ; a silk jacket, 13/6 ; 2 iron spits, 2/- ; 2 old chests, 4/- ; a frying pan and a dripping pan, 3/- ; 5 pewter dishes, 5/- ; a box and two drinking glasses, 1/3.

A trunk, one pair of red taffeta curtains, and one other pair of green satin curtains, £4 5s od.

A brass kettle, 8/6.

A pair of cob irons 5/o

Here is a familiar domestic touch even in the dry details of a seventeenth century inventory :—

2 baskets with broken earthen dishes and some waste spices, 2d ;
A little iron pot 1/6 ;
A great spit 1/6.

This last item helps to recall to us " The roaring board and the ready sword, types of that vanished day."

The whole of the Earl of Tyrone's goods including live stock, etc., only amounted to in all, £107 11s 0d, while the goods of his followers who had accompanied him were proportionately less. The most interesting list is that of Shane O'Hagan, amongst whose effects there are 4 pairs of iron hand-locks at 1/4 per pair ; a malting ladle, 3d ; 2 old cap cases, 1/6 ; an old sword, 2/6 ; an Irish harp, 10/-.

Henry O'Hagan's goods consisted of live stock only. The O'Hagans of Tullahog were Hugh O'Neill's fosterers and Henry O'Hagan acted as Tyrone's secretary.

A further interesting item is " A Spaniard that lived with Tyrone since the year 1588, and fled with him." This was undoubtedly one of the Spanish prisoners who were brought to Dungannon that year. His effects were 5 cows, 2 calves, 1 heifer, and 2 fowling pieces ; the whole amounting to £5 13s 0d, so that he had not attained to any great fortune in Ireland. However there is a later entry which modifies this considerably. It is as follows — " Also given to the Spaniard's wife and children all her husband's goods for their relief which are valued as before charged at sterling £113 0s 0d.

The goods of the Countess of Tyrone which were valued at £35 10s 0d, sterling, were given to Sir Toby Caulfield in consideration of Con O'Neill for three years ending at Michaelmas 1610. This was Tyrone's son who was left behind at the time of the flight.

There are other lists and valuations in Sir Toby Caulfield's statement of accounts which are of general interest but do not bear immediately on the history of Dungannon.

CHAPTER XIII.

1610—1624.

The passing of the Gael ; Chichester obtains a grant of Dungannon ; the founding of the modern town ; made a borough ; antiquity of Thursday market ; returns two M.P.'s ; cases at the Assizes ; the surveys of 1618 and 1622.

The flight of the earls marked the close of an historical epoch. When the two great dynastic houses of O'Neill and O'Donnell ceased

to be, the natives stood in a new relation to the Crown. With the passing of Gaelic rule there also passed into the limbo of forgotten things, the Brehon laws, Tanistry, and Gavelkind. There had been a scheme of a Presidency for Ulster put forward as early as 1563, but it was put aside as impracticable until the country had been divided into shires, so as to be governed by the courts of the Presidents. It was again proposed by the Queen's Commissioners in 1596, only to be decisively rejected by O'Neill, who would not that any should be over him except her Majesty, or her Deputy.

Under the Project of Plantation the forfeited lands were divided into Precincts, which were set out in proportions of 1,000, 1,500, and 2,000 acres. Sir Arthur Chichester, then Lord Deputy, along with large grants in the counties of Antrim and Donegal, had a grant of the proportion containing the town of Dungannon, estimated as containing 1,140 acres, at a rent of £9 2s 6d English. There was also a further grant of a parcel of 500 acres, at a rent of £2 13s 4d English. The date of the patent is 9th Jac I. (4th March, 1611). The lands attached to the Friary (3rd order of Franciscans) founded by Con O'Neill in the fifteenth century had been already granted on 26th June, 1609, to Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin, of Westmeath, who sold the premises. Finally after passing through a couple of hands these lands were sold to Sir Arthur Chichester, 4th January, 1610 (N.S.).

The patent contains the right to hold a Thursday market, and two fairs there yearly. The area of the township was 500 acres, and Sir Arthur was to set apart a convenient place for the site of the town, which was to be built streetways, another part for a market place ; and another for a church and churchyard ; 'the said borough to consist of 20 burgesses, besides cotters and other inferior inhabitants, for whom he was to build houses and assign proportions of land ; and to set apart 60 acres of the said last 500a. for the common of the said town ; with 2ac. more, viz., ½ an acre for the site of a public school, and 1½acs. for the exercise of the scholars.—To hold forever as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster.'

At this time there was a small garrison maintained at Dungannon consisting of a constable, porter, and 12 warders.

In an account of the " Proceedings of the Servitors and Natives in Planting," we get quite a graphic account of the founding of the present town of Dungannon. Up till this time Dungannon had been notable as the place of residence of the O'Neills, and apart from the castle of the chief the remaining inhabitants were made up of his servants and followers, living in the usual beehive-shaped huts as shown in the frontispiece, which were the houses of the Irish at this period.

1611. September. "Co. Tyrone.—Sir Arthur Chichester, now Lord Deputy, has 600 acres about Dungannon, as a servitor, where he intends to build a castle or strong house of lime and stone, and to environ the same with a good substantial stone wall and a deep ditch, with a counterscarp of stone to hold up the earth. Has now masons and workmen to take down such remains of the decayed ruins of the old castle as are yet standing. Is preparing limestone, freestone, etc., against next spring. The town is to be made a corporation, and there are families of English and other civil men who for the present have built houses of copels, but are bound to build of cagework or stone after the English manner, and make enclosures about the town."

The Ulster Plantation being now well under weigh, and Sir Arthur Chichester making good progress in building a town at Dungannon, the next step in its history was its erection into a borough, which was done "Pursuant to letters dated at Hampton Court, 26th September, 1612, the town of Dungannon and the three parcels of land commonly called Crosse, Droughe, and Tenniskeile, lying within, or near about the town, etc. (except the castle of Dungannon with its site and precinct, and 500 feet every way) are created a free Borough, 12 free burgesses and commonalty—the Portreeve to be chosen by the Portreeve and burgesses 24th June, and sworn 29th September, etc. . . . The Portreeve and burgesses to return two members to Parliament. The Portreeve to be clerk of the market." The foregoing abstract giving the principal points is the only known charter of the borough of Dungannon.

The Boundary Commissioners (who reported in 1831) state that they were given to understand that the liberties of the town comprised "two whole townlands, viz., Drumcoo and Ranahan, a considerable portion of a third, and three pieces in three other townlands, comprising altogether 836 statute acres."

In a later "Report from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland (1835-36)," it is stated—"the borough comprises the townland of Drumcoo and probably part of the townland of Rahenran, but no part of Gortmerron. The denominations of Crosse, Droughe, and Tenniskeile are not known, and it is generally reputed that the townland of Drumcoo and the district mentioned in the charter are co-extensive."

In the patent of 10th May, 1587, to Hugh O'Neill there was included a grant to hold a Thursday market, and a fair on the eve, feast, and morrow of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15th August), no rent, and on the plan of Dungannon forming the frontispiece of which the original sketch in the Public Record Office is placed under the date of 1598, the market place is plainly shown, so that whatever other obligations in his patent O'Neill ignored

the market was duly established. Dungannon, therefore, can claim for its Thursday market the respectable antiquity of nearly 350 years.

When Sir Arthur Chichester got the grant of the proportion containing Dungannon and the surrounding district, the usual proviso was inserted in his patent (1611) to hold a Thursday market, and two fairs on the Monday next after the 24th June, and 29th September and the day following, rent 6/8 Irish. This is according to the *Liber Munerum* I., but in the Municipal Commissioners Report, the date of the first fair is given as the Monday after the 1st May, and the day after, which seems a more suitable date. Sir Arthur Chichester had a regrant of the markets and fairs; no rent, 20th November, 1621.

During the troubled period through which Ireland had passed in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and the early years of James I. legislation had fallen largely in arrear, accordingly the Lord Deputy resolved to summon a parliament. To this assembly which met in 1613 the Borough of Dungannon on May 2nd returned as its two members, Sir Garrett Moore, knt., of Mellifont, Co. Louth, and Sir Hugh Pollerde, or Pollard, knt. We shall not pursue the subject at present, reserving a list of the borough representatives for an appendix as the more suitable place.

By this time the country had settled fairly well under the new regime so that it was possible to discontinue a number of the forts and military posts that had been planted all over the country. Amongst these was Dungannon, as we find in a list of "Pensions allowed to Captains and Lieutenants of discharged companys, and to Constables of forts discharged," George Trevillian, late Constable of Dungannon." This list is dated 8th February, 1615.

A flutter was caused in official circles by the the discovery of the plot to rescue Con Gregy O'Neill, the young son left behind by the Earl of Tyrone in his hurried flight, then under the care of that useful servant of the government, Sir Toby Caulfield, in Charlemont Fort. One of the principal conspirators was Brian Crossagh O'Neill an illegitimate son of Cormac MacBaron, of Augher. In the examination of Dermot Oge MacDonne (3rd April, 1615) he repeats Brian Crossagh's picturesque account of his impression of the Assize, held at Dungannon in the summer of 1614. Brian said "I was at the assizes the other day, Justice Aungier was ready to revile me like a churl if I did but look awry, and the other black judge would lean his head upon his hand to see if he could espy any occasion to hang me. I will not by my good will ever come among them any more."

Brian Crossagh, of Ballynegorhah, had twenty townlands, over 1,200, acres in the Barony of Dungannon. Sir Francis Aungier,

Master of the Rolls, was no doubt, in his scarlet robe, as is customary with judges to this day, sitting in the Crown, or "life and death Court," as the Irish used to call it. The judge in the black robe was probably some serjeant or King's Counsel named in the Commission to discharge the civil business of the Assizes.

The Assizes of 1615 commenced at Dungannon on March 30, before Gerard Lowther, knt., one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, and John Beare, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law. A few typical cases may be given—

"That William Allett and Jocky Tallen, alias Armstronge, of Galnegore, yoeman, on the 10th December, 1614, there stole 8 sheep, each worth 3/-, the property of Patrick M'Rory. William Allett is found guilty, and says he is a clerk, whereupon John Moony the minister of Christopher, Archbishop of Armagh, appears and William Allett being branded in the left hand, is delivered to him. Pardoned."

"That Hobbie Allett, of Dongannon, yoeman, on the 20th October, 1614, at Omye, stole 2 horses, each worth £3, belonging to James M'Gilsenan, a mare worth 40/-, the property of Brien O'Ferrenan, and a horse worth 40/- the property of David Smyth. Guilty. To be executed."

"That George Sachervell, of Dongannon, clerk, on the 5th January, 1614, then entered the mansion house of Edward Bennett, gentleman, and stole 5s 6d out of a 'truncke.' Acquitted."

"That James O'Hagan, of Arrater, yoeman, on the 15th February, 1613, at Tullohagan, "in quandam Annam Clinton, spinster, etc.; insultem fecit et contra voluntatern felonice rapuit." Guilty. To be executed."

"Owin Magwyre, of Dongannon, yoeman, on the 25th March, 1610, at Ballinseggead, stole a black horse worth £12, the property of Shane O'Neale, yoeman. No verdict."

It may not be amiss to explain that the reason for stating the value of goods in indictments for larceny at this period was, that if above twelve pence it was grand larceny, the penalty for which was hanging, but if it was a "Clergyable" offence, i.e., the prisoner was entitled to the "benefit of the clergy," which by the time of Jac. I. extended to everyone who could read. In the case of laymen they could only claim the privilege once, when they were burnt with a hot iron on the brawn of the left thumb, as in the case of William Allett, to prevent their exercise of this right in case of being brought up for a second offence.

The following years found Dungannon quietly pursuing its peaceful way, and the laws being administered in due course. Thus we find from a Summonister Roll (No. 6) that at the County Tyrone Assizes held 16th September, 1618—"Recognizances entered into

before John Meeke, Justice of the Peace, 29th August, 1618, by Patrick Stanley, innkeeper, Toole O'Shevin, innholder, and Patrick Welsh, gent., all three of Dungannon, County Tyrone. That they will attend Divine Service in the Church at Dungannon whenever the Lord Treasurer shall visit Dungannon town, and if he fails to visit the town before the next Sessions that they should attend the Judges to Church."

The Lord Treasurer was Sir Arthur Chichester, then owner of Dungannon. The Recognizance was forfeited at the September Assizes, 1618.

John Meeke appears to have been a man of standing, as on 29th May, 1618, for some technical offence, we find Inrolled a "General Pardon for Sir Thomas Phillips of Limevaddy in Londonderry county, knt.—George Carie of Londonderry city, esq., and John Meeke, of Dungannon in Tyrone, esq., for a sum of £13-6-8 Irish.

It was in 1618 that Pynnar made his well known survey of the Ulster Plantation.

The report on Dungannon is as follows—"The Precinct of Dungannon. The Lord Chichester hath 1,140 acres called Dungannon.

Upon this there is built a Fort of Lime and Stone, 120 feet square, with four half Bulwarks, and a deep ditch about it 20 feet broad, and Counterscarped. There is a castle built by Captain Sandford who hath contracted for the finishing of it this summer. Upon the land without the Town there are three English Houses, being inhabited with English Men.

His Lordship is to Build a Town in Dungannon for which there is laid out 500 acres.

Upon this there is now built nine fair Stone Houses, whereof one of them hath a fair Stone Wall about it, and there are five more which are now ready to have the Roof set up. Also six strong Timber Houses built of good Cage Work, and six more of the same, which are framed and ready to be set up, and are contracting for the finishing. There are British Tenants that are for these Houses when they be built, that dwell in the Town in small Cabbins.

There is also a large Church with a Steeple, all of Lime and Stone, now ready to be covered. Besides these British Tenants within the Town (which are thirty English families), there are thirty-six Irish, which come to church and have taken the Oath of Supremacy." (Harris: Hibernica I.)

A much more detailed account of Dungannon is given in "A Brief Survey of the present Estate of the Plantacions in the Counties of Ardmagh and Tyrone, taken by the Ld. Caulfield and Sr Dudley Diggs, and Sr Nathaniell Rich, Knts. Anno Dm. 1622."

British Museum. Additional MSS. 4756.

The Precinct of Dungannon allotted to Servitors and Natives.

Arthur, Lord Chichester, hath 1640 acres called Dungannon, upon which is built a Fort or Bawne of stone and lime, 100 foot square, 14 foot high with a strong ditch about it. The Fort hath 5 half Bulwarkes, and in it a good dwelling house containing 14 Roomes, and Lodgings, wherein Captain Perkins with his wife and family now dwell.

He hath also built within the Burrough at his own Charge 12 houses of lyme and stone, well slated and glazed, each house containing 6 Roomes at least, and also 8 Timber houses, of strong and handsome Cage work, which are likewise covered with slate and glazed. and within everyone of the same, substantial stone chimneys some of which houses containe 12 or 14 Roomes within, and the least house containing 6 large Roomes. To all which houses his Lordship hath annexed a garden and Backside, with 2 acres of Land with the same, and several Burgesses ; In which are English and Scottish Dwellers and none else.

His Lp. hath also at his owne cost built one Church and steeple of lyme and stone, the body of the same Church containing in length 60 foot, and in breadth within the Walls, 25 foot ; the steeple is twentie foot square, and fortie foot high to the Battlement.

There is also built in the said Burrough of Dungannon, at the Charge of the Inhabitants of the County of Tyrone, one Goale of lyme and stone, the Walls whereof are 4 foot thick, and 24 foot high to the Battlement, 40 foot in length, and 20 in breadth, two strong vaults planked about within, with Oaken Plankes, three inches thick, and underneath Oaken timber, and hath 4 other Rooms above, with 2 stone Chimneys ; The Gutters of the vault leaded, and ye Roof shingled.

There is also in the said Borrough by the said County, one Session house builded of Timber of strong Cage Worke, containing in length 70 foot, and in breadth 40 foot framed with a double Roof, under which is a large Markett house, with a Rank of Turned Pillars through the same, over which there is a large Roome for the Judges to sitt, with 2 close roomes for ye Juriors, and Country to attend ; Throughout to this house 8 large Windows, sufficiently glazed, the roof thereof shingled, and the gates [? gutters] leaded.

There are in this Towne a Provost and 12 Burgesses, and Dwellers and Freemen of the said Burrough thirtie one who with their Families do there inhabit ; And they have of Irish Protestants inhabiting within the said Burrough 35."

John Perkins, who, with his wife and family resided in the house within the fort or bawn, we may assume to have been Lord Chichester's agent, or else in the Government's employment as

military commandant of the post, probably the latter. He was a man of importance in Dungannon, as in addition to being a magistrate he was High Sheriff of County Tyrone for the year 1620.

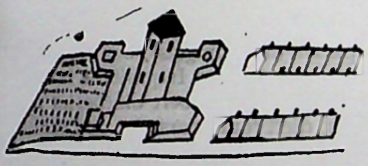
CHAPTER XIV.

1623—1643.

Gentlemen of Tyrone object to war taxation ; death of Lord Chichester ; Sir Phelim O'Neill presides at Dungannon Quarter Sessions ; the Cornwall family ; the rising of 1641 ; the rebels capture Dungannon castle ; Captain Perkins offered a command in the Irish army ; Dungannon recaptured.

Dungannon castle or fort as already mentioned, ceased to be garrisoned in 1615, but a note on the " Repairing of Forts " (September, 1623) says—" Dongannon to make it defensible against the Irish rebels. But if His Majesty shall be pleased to assign it as a seat for a President, and to the building of it will allow the next Easter and Michaelmas rents of Tirone, he will with some help of the county cause it to be built fit for the President, when His Majesty shall appoint one, which otherwise will cost His Majesty much more to build it." Nothing seems to have been done beyond the work done by Lord Chichester, described in the 1622 report (Chap. XIII.).

In 1624 Nicholas Pynnar made a report on the " State of the Forts in Ireland," (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 24,200), in which is included a map of Lough Neagh and the surrounding district, the little sketch in the margin representing Dungannon.



An interesting document calendared in the State Papers (22 Sept., 1630) is a certificate to one William Poe, signed by Lord Balfour, Governor of Fermanagh, Baron Enniskillen, Francis Caprone, Provost of Dungannon, and some fifty other noblemen and gentlemen. This certificate was in reply to a complaint to the Government that Poe had " given much trouble in the Plantation." The exact nature of the trouble is not specified, but it may with a fair amount of certainty be assumed that he was a discoverer of concealed lands, and also that he was some connection of Edgar Allen Poe, the poet, whose ancestor was settled in the neighbouring county of Cavan early in the eighteenth century.

Shortly after the accession of Charles I. England fell into war with Spain, and in Ireland as elsewhere, there was considerable military activity, so that on 23rd November, 1625, we find the Lord Deputy writing to the Privy Council—"The remaining troops in Ulster which can be spared from forts I hold in readiness about Lifford and Dungannon, and will join them myself when the Spaniards land." . . . He also adds in a P.S. that he had appointed Lord Blaney to command all the forces in the north.

Dungannon had not the excitement of seeing a Spanish invasion of Ulster but felt the heavy arbitrary taxation rendered necessary by the wars. Thus at the October Sessions (9th October, 1628) the gentlemen of the county Tyrone strongly objected to paying a demand for £E. 18., presented to them by the Sheriff. The next summer, on 11th July, 1629, the Sheriff writing from Dungannon enclosed a petition from the gentlemen of Tyrone, who have refused to pay the £320 14s 0d asked of them. Most of the other counties strongly objected, and some of them flatly refused to pay. However, the peace of Susa and Madrid in 1629-30 put an end to levies for military purposes and permitted attention to be turned to home affairs.

Sir Arthur Chichester, who, in 1612 had been for his services created Baron Chichester, of Belfast, died without issue in 1624, and was succeeded by his brother Edward who appears to have also inherited a great portion of his brother's vast estates, and was created immediately after Lord Chichester's death Baron Belfast and Viscount Chichester.

From an Inquisition taken at Dungannon after his death we find that a large amount of church lands which Sir Arthur had on lease from the Primate, in the parish of Drumglass, went to Robert Chichester, a nephew of Sir Arthur. A later Inquisition taken at Augher, 3rd September, 1632, sets out the Robert Chichester mentioned in the previous Inquisition, died four years ago, and that his son and heir, John Chichester, was 7 years old and unmarried. He must have died fairly early in life, or been slain in the rebellion of 1641, as in the Down Survey (Stowe MSS.) a considerable amount of church lands are returned as in the hands of the executors of John Chichester, Esq., English Protestant, lessee in 1641. These lands were in the parish of Drumglass, and held on lease from the Primate for sixty years from 6th November, 1615, at £40 yearly rent, etc. Chichester had also from the Primate some ten town lands in the parish of Killyman. This branch claimed the whole of the Chichester estates, but did not succeed in ousting Edward, Viscount Chichester.

Beyond the usual domestic incidents and the routine business of a thriving county and market town ; Assizes and Quarter Session-

helped to vary the monotony, and it is interesting to find in " Summonister Roll, " No. 36—Tyrone Quarter Sessions, 21st June, 1638, before Phelim O'Neile, esq., J.P., and the following year in " Summonister Roll, " No. 39, Tyrone Quarter Sessions, 15th October, 1639, before Sir Phelim O'Neil, knt., J.P. This gives approximately the date when this notable personage received his title, which has been a mystery hitherto.

John Cornwall who was living in Dungannon in 1614, was Provost in 1640, and also a Justice of the Peace, as we find him officiating along with Sir Phelim O'Neill at the Quarter Sessions. In 1641 he is returned as having a lease from the Primate of 241 acres in Dungannon barony, as well as the freehold lands of " Cornwall's Grove," also in Dungannon barony. He left two sons by different wives. The eldest, Rev. Gabriel Cornwall, was a Commonwealth minister of Ballywillin, outside Coleraine, and when ejected in 1660, became Presbyterian minister of Ballywillin and Bushmills. He married a sister of William Hamilton of Lough Currin, and later of Caledon, and by her had with other issue two sons, both Presbyterian ministers in the Clogher Valley, County Tyrone, whose descendants lived in County Longford, and owned the Archbishop's lease. The youngest son, Edward, inherited " Cornwall's Grove," and was the ancestor of the family of Cornwall of ' Cornwall's Grove.'

Dungannon was now on the eve of more exciting and bloody events, as on Friday, 22nd October, 1641, about six o'clock at night, Patrick Modder O'Donnelly, his brother, Priest O'Skeaghe, and another of the Donnelly's went to the Castle of Dungannon and applied to the Governor, Captain John Perkins, who was a Justice of the Peace, for a warrant to search for some sheep which they alleged had been stolen. Having no suspicion of what was afoot they were admitted, and as Captain Perkins was about to write out the warrant one of the four went to the gate and admitted Randal M'Donnell and 18 men with him, who, rushing into the hall with skeans drawn, arrested Captain Perkins as they said, in the name of the Parliament. They then took possession of all the arms, goods, and live stock in the possession of the Captain, to the value according to his account of £1,500.

Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was at the same time engaged in the capture of Charlemont, arrived about midnight in Dungannon, from which he took Captain Perkins' horses and proceeded to Mountjoy, which had been captured by Captain Turlogh Grome (grim) O'Quin. After paying a flying visit to Mountjoy, Sir Phelim returned to Dungannon, where he was joined by many confederates and followers.

The rebels were highly elated with their success, as at one boldly executed coup the greater part of the north, strongholds in-

cluded, was in the hands of the Irish. The English and Scottish inhabitants of Dungannon, filled with apprehension, as well they might be, for their lives and properties, agreed to a levy of £1,000 upon the Lordship of Dungannon in consideration of being protected under the charge and care of Captain Perkins. This promise was not kept, as Sir Phelim afterwards committed Captain Perkins and John Allen, Provost of Dungannon, to the charge of Nicholas Combe to be kept close prisoners for a week.

This Nicholas Combe was seneschal of the manor of Dungannon, and was himself a prisoner in the town (but not in the castle). In the longer of his two depositions he states that Randolph M'Donnell was Governor of the town, his son as captain commanding under him.

There came orders from Sir Phelim O'Neill to put all the English out of Dungannon and convoy them to Dundalk, but about one mile from the town, on the highway towards Charlemont, at Gortmerron, a number of men were murdered and all the women stript. The most noteworthy of those killed was Mr. Roger Blythe, minister of Dungannon, who had a special protection from Sir Phelim O'Neill. Mr. Blythe in addition to his clerical avocation was a J.P., and it is quite on the cards that some of the Irish who may have thought themselves ill-treated by him when on the magisterial bench may have taken the opportunity for paying off old scores.

On the other hand we find instances of persons protected for their usefulness; Captain John Perkins, who, in a Summonister Roll of 1640, is curiously described as "superior of Dungannon," was not only protected, although threatened to be hanged several times, but was offered by Sir Phelim on behalf of the Supreme Council of Ireland, the post of Master of the Ordnance, and that he should have command of 1,000 foot and 100 horse, and £3 a day, which offer he refused. Another similar case of an inhabitant of Dungannon was that of Hugh Jones, carpenter, who was kept alive to make a drawbridge at Dungannon, but who does not mention how he finally escaped.

All this turmoil and bloodshed was not without its portents, and a little before the insurrection began it was reported that there was a vision seen of a woman walking round the town with a spear in her hand. When they would approach her she would go away from them, and when any would go away from her she would draw near to them. This vision also, they say, appeared before Tyrone's former rebellion.

The first Sunday in Lent, 1642 (N.S.), according to "Friar O'Mellan's Narrative of the Wars of 1641," sermons were preached in various places in Armagh and Tyrone—"One by Fr. Johannes a Sancto Patrico in the Court-house of Dungannon. Part of the loft

fell under them; some persons were killed, and others had their bones broken." This passing notice by Friar O'Mellan of the accident is confirmed by George Burne, of Dungannon, in his deposition. He was present at the service and gives the following account :— "About the first or second week of Lent next after the said rebellion began, this deponent and many other of the English Protestants that were restrained from going away, were all forced to go into the Sessions House at Dungannon amongst a multitude of the Irish rebels, when and where they were constrained to hear a sermon preached by an Irish Friar who took his text out of the story of Judith how she cut off Holofernes head. Relating how she, by fasting and prayer, prevailed so that she had liberty to cut off his head, and even as he was about to express how and in what manner she did it, that part of the floor of the upper chamber where they were, fell down with a great number of the rebels, many whereof were then and there slain by the fall and others so bruised that they died quickly after. Howbeit the mercy and providence of God were such that neither this deponent nor any of the English (then forced thither) received any hurt at all, nor fell down with the rest. And the Friar that preached, catching hold of a rail that was nailed close to the wall, hung there by the arms, and with much difficulty escaped."

These depositions show that while a considerable number of Protestants were slain in Dungannon and its vicinity, there were many still left in the town in the spring of 1642, as well as those who had succeeded in making their way to places held by the English and Scots. According to Colonel Audley Mervyn's "An Exact Relation, etc.,"(London, 1642), Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart had shortly after the outbreak of the rebellion embodied a force of about 1,000 men in the counties of Donegal and Tyrone, afterwards known by the name of the "Lagan Forces," With these they garrisoned the castles of Newtownstewart and Omagh. To the former of these places the inhabitants of the barony of Dungannon marched under the command of Sir Thomas Staples and Colonel Saunderson, and were well entertained for two or three days, but news of Augher being besieged reaching the Stewarts they were sent to its relief, being 600 in number, but contrary to the persuasions of the Lieut-Colonel and the High Sheriff, Captain Maxwell, they were divided by one Master William Stewart, who was a man of very good parts, but unfortunately lacking in judgment, and one part sent to Dungannon, then in the hands of the Irish, "where the greatest part of them were slain, without the satisfaction of one rebel's drop of blood in requital for their's." The remainder left at Augher under Lieut.-Colonel Saunderson, were obliged by Sir Phelim O'Neill to retreat to Omagh and so to Newtownstewart,

when the town of Augher was burnt by O'Neill's forces but the castle held out.

The 16th June, 1642, the Scots and English forces under the command of Major General Munro and Lord Montgomery assembled at Lisburn, from whence they marched in the direction of Armagh and Charlemont, where Sir Phelim O'Neill was, but were unable to make any impression on the fort. As a measure of precaution Sir Phelim ordered Castlecaulfield to be burned, and the outskirts of Dungannon as well, which was executed by Randall M'Donnell. At the same time Captain Richard Codan [? Cowan] was placed in the garrison of Dungannon. The next day being Wednesday a messenger came very early from Sir William Brownlow, who was a prisoner with the rebels, saying that seeing the British tents five miles from them at Charlemont, they resolved to strike a blow for their freedom, accordingly he and Lieut. Martin and some others there with the help of some Irish that were friendly to them seized the Captain and became masters of the fort, whereupon Lord Montgomery with all the horse and most of the musketeers marched immediately to Dungannon with great care and wariness, lest the letter should have been forced from Sir William to be used as a trap. However, on their arrival they found that it was genuine, so upon debate it was resolved to leave a garrison of 100 men under Captain Theophilus Jones, of Lord Conway's regiment, and to hang the former Captain and his men. O'Mellan makes no mention of the garrison being hanged, but states :—" They took Captain Cowan to Lord Conway and he was hanged, together with his son and a Dominican Friar." From the foregoing it would seem as if Captain Cowan had formerly been in the English army and had gone over to the Irish. If this surmise be correct it would account for him superseding Captain Randal M'Donnell in the command of Dungannon on account of his greater military experience. The English commander hearing that Lady Blaney was kept in the woods about four miles from Monaghan, sent all his horse thither, but the Irish had removed the lady farther into the woods the night before, however, they captured some 1,500 cows and many mares and relieved many prisoners. The horse marched back to Charlemont and arrived there safe at night, after a march of nearly sixty miles in two days and a night.

In the fort of Dungannon they found a brass cannon carrying a ball of four or five pounds, which Lord Montgomery brought back to Charlemont, using one of Sir Phelim's teams which had been taken at Caledon, and with it fired three shots with but little harm to the castle.

The next day Captain Rawdon was sent with a party of horse back to Dungannon, with ammunition and 100 cows and as much

provision of corn and meal as could be gotten in the houses and creaghts thereabout.

The army being short of both victuals and ammunition was obliged to break up camp and return home. The force left in Dungannon consisted of 20 horse and 80 foot, and the morning the army marched from Charlemont, Captain Randal M'Donnell was killed in a skirmish near Dungannon by the Corporal who commanded the troop of horse.

CHAPTER XV.

1642—1674.

Sir Phelim O'Neill recaptures Dungannon only to lose it; battle at Benburb; Arthur Chichester created Earl of Donegall; Coote at Dungannon.

Sir Phelim O'Neill did not sit down tamely under the loss of Dungannon but on St. Augustine's day (28th August, 1642) sent five Captains to besiege it, which indicates a force of about 500 men. They captured upwards of 100 cows, which most likely were the self-same cows that were delivered to the garrison by Captain Rawdon from the spoil gathered in County Monaghan, so that the Irish had their own back again. "Trenches were made round the castle and an excavation was made which was brought under the castle with the result that Captain Jones capitulated on the condition that he and his men were allowed to retain their arms and march to Mountjoy. The British Officer thus briefly notices this event:—"This year in October, Dungannon was besieged by the Irish for five weeks, and given up by Captain Jones with honour." Viscount Montgomery must have been in error, when in a petition to the Cromwellian government about October, 1658, in enumerating the services of his father, he stated that he "made a march on Dungannon in September, 1642, which saved the garrison of 300 men from the rebels. In this march he contracted the illness from which he died." It is more likely that it was brought on by the severe march into County Monaghan.

In 1643 the Scots army and the English forces under Parliamentary control, were acting in conjunction in Ulster. Towards the end of June, Major General Robert Monro, with a strong force, crossed the Bann, and with Colonel Owen O'Connolly as their guide, proceeded through Tyrone as far as Carnteel, burning Castletown Bawn, the residence of Turlough O'Neill, which was near at hand, and from whence they marched to Ballydonnelly (Castlecaulfield), capturing the island there. They then proceeded to Dungannon,

which they reached 3rd July, 1643, and demanded the surrender of the castle which was refused. Next day the soldiers set on fire the town, and again demanded a surrender. The following day (4th July) a large force under Colonel George Munroe, Lord Chichester, Lord Montgomery, etc., crossed the Blackwater to Dungannon, and encamped at Gortmerron. In view of the great force by which they were now surrounded, the garrison were seized with fear and surrendered on receiving liberty to carry away their arms and movable effects. Thus as the game stood honours were even. This recovery of Dungannon by the British took place 7th July, 1643, and a Scotch garrison was placed in the town, but through extreme want by the end of the year Monro was compelled to withdraw the garrisons from the different strongholds which he occupied, including Dungannon and Mountjoy. These places were then garrisoned by Lord Chichester, who as owner of the manor would be largely interested in Dungannon. However, the Royalists were unable to hold it, and on 30th May, 1644, it was delivered once more to Sir Phelim O'Neill, who immediately placed a garrison there. The Irish tenure was not of long duration, as in June a message came to Sir Phelim desiring him to leave Charlemont and join the army. Possibly not having men to leave behind when he was called out on active service he burnt the town. This is O'Mellan's quaint record :—

"On St. John's Eve, 1602, O'Neill burnt Dungannon at the hour of retiring to bed.

"On St. John's Eve (23rd June) 1644, Sir Felim burnt it at the same hour."

After the number of times that Dungannon has been recorded as burnt, it must have been in the black books of the insurance companies of that era, but after the more permanent English built houses had been destroyed in the early stages of the war, the houses would have been Irish cabins which were easily destroyed and as easily replaced.

Sir Phelim returned to Charlemont at the end of May, 1645, with 150 men, and authority from the Council of Kilkenny to place garrisons in Dungannon and Mountjoy, but whether these instructions were carried out or the places left direlict we have no information.

In the spring of 1646 Owen Roe was supplied with money and given power to levy a new army of northern men, by the authority of the Nuncio and Supreme Council, then sitting at Kilkenny. By the end of May, O'Neill found himself at the head of an army 5,000 strong, of which there were 500 horse, such as they were, as Colonel Henry MacTully O'Neill puts it. With these he proceeded to Benburb, in order to divert General Monro, and his army from marching

into Leinster and Munster. Monro on learning of O'Neill's presence at Benburb, immediately hastened his march thither in order to crush him, and at the same time provide for the safety of the contingent from Coleraine under Colonel George Monro, with whom he had appointed a rendezvous at Glaslough on 5th June, 1646. Owen Roe was also aware of the approach of the Coleraine troops, and early in the morning sent out four troops of horse, with orders to proceed in the direction of Dungannon, to attack and beat back this force.

George Monro was a prudent and skilful commander, and on observing the Irish horse approaching, posted his men so advantageously in the hedges that the Irish force could do them no harm until such times as his foot, which they had outmarched, should come up, they then retreated without loss, while the Irish horse hearing the sound of cannon at Drumflugh, returned in hot haste to Benburb, all in a sweat, horses and men. On their arrival at the battlefield, Monro took them to be the expected Lagan horse, but the cheer sent up by the Irish army undeceived him, and they were in time to take part in the final charge that made the battle of Benburb the most crushing defeat inflicted on the English and Scots during the war.

The Chichesters, like most of the northern nobility, were royalists, and when General Robert Monro, on 14th May, 1644, seized Belfast on behalf of the Scottish Estates and English Parliament, Colonel Arthur Chichester, son of Edward, Viscount Chichester, left the town and joined Ormonde in Dublin, where his activity in the royalist cause was such that King Charles I. created him Earl of Donegall, in 1647, during the lifetime of his father, who died in 1648. John Chichester, of Dungannon, already mentioned, left a son, also named Arthur Chichester, who appears also as an active royalist and upholder of the Cessation arranged between Ormonde and the Irish Supreme Council. There is an undated letter of the year 1644 (Ormonde MSS. N.S.I. 78) to Colonel Mathew (Ormonde's half-brother) in which he says "Martin is committed to the Marshalsea [prison] by the Committee of War, and I fear it will go hard with him if Owen Roe do not re-deliver Dungannon to whom my Lord Lieutenant shall appoint." From this it would appear as if Owen Roe had placed a garrison in Dungannon some time after Sir Phelim abandoned and burnt the town. Sir Arthur Chichester was M.P. for Dungannon in 1661, and became second Earl of Donegall on the death of his uncle at Belfast in March, 1674.

Dungannon after the battle of Benburb ceased to figure in the war. It lay desolate and ruined with a few of the native inhabitants creeping timorously back to the ruins of their old homes, and

so remained, with but a single warlike flicker until peace was established under the Protectorate.

After the death of Owen Roe, Ever MacMahon, was on 8ith March, 1650, elected General in his place. On the 14th April, Coote having collected his Lagan army, sent orders to Colonel Venables to take the field and join him before Charlemont with a view to taking that fort. The Bishop-General resolving to forestall this move, gave orders for his army to assemble at Rillacorron, near Monaghan, with twenty-four days provisions, while in order to provide a diversion he despatched a party who surprised and captured the fort of Toome ; then having repaired its fortifications he pushed forward a considerable body of horse and foot to annoy the English at Antrim. This manoeuvre had its effect and Venables was obliged to return to protect his quarters in the county Antrim, and to invest Toome which held out for eight or ten days. Coote in the meantime had marched from Derry " by the Lough-side into Tyrone," where he was engaged by detachments of several Irish regiments, which also provided a diversion to prevent these troops going to assist in besieging the Irish garrison at Toome. After that fort was taken Coote posted himself at Dungannon but his supplies being cut off by the Irish, he was forced to retire with the main body of his army to Omagh, leaving a couple of regiments of horse to watch the motions of the Irish army, then lying securely encamped at Annaghsamery, near Charlemont. From thence the Bishop's army marched by county Londonderry to Donegal, only to be practically annihilated at Scariffhollis, memorable as the last battle which occurred in Ulster till the wars of the Revolution.

CHAPTER XVI.
1674—1690.

Dungannon charter called in ; regiment raised in Dungannon and neighbourhood ; Mackenzie's account of Dungannon garrison ; King James's army retreats from Derry via Dungannon.

The reigns of Charles II. and of his successor, James II. up till 1688, are barren in so far as the historian of Dungannon is concerned. True, the disarming of the militia, and the Romanising of the army and the bench, must have created alarm in the town and neighbourhood as elsewhere. Dungannon, like other corporations of recent origin, had been the creation of the colonists, and had always been in Protestant hands, and the Government's next step was to call in the charters of these cities and boroughs, so that

they might be remodelled in such a way as to place them completely at the mercy of the Lord Lieutenant, who was empowered to issue new charters appointing the officers and members of all municipalities by name, with power to fill up vacancies and return two members to Parliament.

The first corporation in Ulster to be reconstructed in this arbitrary manner was Dungannon, its municipal officers being appointed 22nd March, 1688. In the month of August, Strabane and Derry, in the following month Newry, and in October, Armagh and Belfast, were transferred to Roman Catholic control. The names of Dungannon's new corporation were as follows :—

Terence Donnelly, Esq., Provost.

Burgesses 12.

John O'Neill, Esq., Patrick Donnelly, Thomas Morris, John Donnelly, John Clements, Hugh O'Quinn, Neal O'Donnelly, Robert Walker, Henry Donnelly, Charles O'Hagan, Thomas Corbett, Daniel O'Madden.

The Terence O'Donnelly who was High Sheriff of Tyrone, for the year 1687, was presumably the same person as the Provost of Dungannon for the following year. According to King ("State of the Protestants of Ireland, etc.") "he had not one foot of freehold," and then goes on to relate a story of the theft of bullocks by his son from Mr. Hamilton, of Caledon, which the writer has already given in his "History of Minterburn and Caledon." Regarding the Archbishop's charge of not possessing one foot of freehold, O'Donnelly had a very obvious and ready answer, that as a native his patrimony had been filched from him by the settlers.

The arbitrary conduct of James II. and Tirconnell caused consternation amongst the Protestants, great numbers of whom fled to England, where many of them were in a state of destitution, and in a "List of Money distributed at Chester in 1689 to distressed Protestants of Ireland," occurs the name of "John Holt, Dungannon, weaver, 15/- in July."

The successful landing of William, Prince of Orange, in England, in November, 1688, encouraged the Protestants of Ulster to concert together measures for their defence, one of which was the raising of a regiment in the district around Dungannon, under the auspices of Lord Charlemont, Captain Chichester being designed for Lieut.-Colonel, but afterwards made Colonel of it, having for his major, Rev. George Walker, Rector of Donaghmore, who afterwards became Colonel, on the reorganization of the regiments in Derry, 19th April, 1689. In his ministerial capacity the reverend gentlemen occasionally officiated in Drumglass parish church.

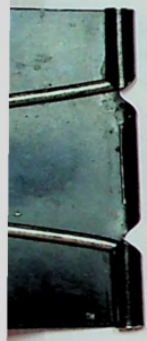
The following interesting account of the armament of Lord Charlemont's regiment may be given. It occurs in a rare tract

bearing the sarcastic title :—" A View of the Danger and Folly of being Publick-spirited."

680 muskets	£680	0	0
340 pikes	85	0	0
1,000 swords and belts	306	0	0
30 halberts	9	0	0
15 pairs of colours	30	0	0
30 drums	9	0	0
	£1,119	0	0

The regiment consisted of fifteen companies. Each company had sixty men.

The firearms were evidently up to date, the muskets having the new flint and steel lock, although there were many of the old matchlocks, discharged by means of burning slow match, still in use in both armies. Another favourite weapon with those unable to procure firearms was a scythe fixed on a pole or handle —a most deadly weapon at close quarters, and the lineal successor of the old Irish battleaxe.



How Dungannon fared during the early months of 1689 may best be given in direct quotation from Mackenzie's " Narrative."

The Rev. John Mackenzie was Presbyterian minister of Cookstown, and acted as chaplain to Walker's regiment, or the Presbyterian portion of it at any rate, during the siege of Derry.

" Of the garrison of Dungannon I need only give this short relation : Dungannon in the county of Tirone, being in great danger from the Irish garrison of Charlemont, that had above thirty companies in it, the defence of it by a good garrison was thought necessary. And accordingly the counties of Tyrone, Derry, and Donegal, sent in several troops and companies by turn, which were maintained partly by the country and partly by their officers. About the 11th February the Irish gathered together in great numbers, near Stewartstown and Gleno. Colonel Stewart, Governor of the town, commanded a detached party of our men (about 24), some of Captain Stewart of Killymoon's troop, and some foot to go to view them, who killed some of the Irish and took thirteen or fourteen prisoners. Soon after a considerable party of the forces of Charlemont joined with the Irish of the country near Benburb. A party of our men, both horse and foot beat them off, and took a prey of cattle from them, as they did several [times] afterwards. Colonel Lundy about the 14th March sent his orders to Colonel Stewart, to quit the town which accordingly he did, though against the opinion of most of the officers. Nor was there any care taken to carry off that great quantity of provisions which the country had sent in, so that they fell into the enemy's hands. About the 16th or 17th

March, some of the garrison marched towards Coleraine, others towards Derry, as Mr. Walker and his company, etc. The 11th, a party of our men, beat off a party of the Irish who had taken up the pass at Toome."

Regarding the state of affairs in and around Dungannon we gather a few additional details from Harris (Life of William III.).

At this time Gordon O'Neill, son of Sir Phelim, of 1641 fame, was governor of Charlemont, observing these preparations, i.e., the garrisoning and provisioning of the town, sent his chaplain to enquire into their meaning, who was plainly answered, " that so many Irish were armed in the country, that they thought fit to put themselves in a posture of defence against the dangers they saw themselves exposed to." The Rev. George Walker rode to Derry to consult Colonel Lundy regarding the Protestants' arrangement for their defence. He approved of their design of holding Dungannon as a check on the Jacobite garrison of Charlemont, and sent two files of his disciplined men to the town, and soon after two troops of dragoons, but as already detailed in Mackenzie's " Narrative," Lundy came out in his true colours and caused the garrison to be evacuated. This piece of strategy on Lundy's part materially aided King James's army, who took advantage of the free communication thus opened between Derry and Dublin, when Dungannon fell into their hands.

Mackenzie records that about 2 o'clock in the morning of Sunday, 7th April (1689) the garrison of Derry had notice that Lord Galmoy, Colonel Gordon O'Neill, and Colonel MacMahon, were come to Dungannon with 3,000 foot, and 1,000 horse, in order to surprise the garrison of Moneymore and Sir Arthur Rawdon was desired to hasten thither. This gentleman was then known by the name of " Cock of the North," because of his boldness and great forwardness in carrying on the Protestant Association. (Leslie : Answer to King.)

The Williamite party had established a line of communication and defence along the entire course of the lower Bann, and it was to strengthen this line that Rawdon was hurried on the scene, as Lieut. General Richard Hamilton with an Irish force, encamped at Ballymoney, and now Galmoy with another force, was advancing from Tyrone, both armies having Derry for their objective. On Sunday, the 7th April (1689) a body of Hamilton's men succeeded in crossing the Bann, about a mile below Portglenone, thus cutting the Protestant line and obliging the defenders to make a hurried retreat to Londonderry, whose memorable siege dates from the 18th April, 1689.

While the movements and operations narrated were in progress Dungannon proved a very convenient halting-place for King James's

troops, and in the letters and despatches of Jean Antoine de Mesmes, Count d'Avaux, who was the French Ambassador in attendance upon James II., during his campaign in Ireland, we get many interesting glimpses of Dungannon as seen by French eyes. There is an interesting letter from the Ambassador to King Louis from Charlemont, in which he states that " The King of England set out yesterday from Armagh, and came to this place where he is safer, the castle being in the middle of a little fort which cannot be easily taken. Mons. Rose, Mons de Maumont and Mons. Lery set out from Armagh with him, but they went to stay the night at Dungannon, which is four miles from here. They ought to find there two companies of cavalry, and one of dragoons, and a regiment of infantry, with whom they will march as far as Omagh which is eighteen miles from there, then they will go to Strabane and from there to Londonderry."

King James, who arrived in Dublin towards the end of March, 1689, set out for the North on the 8th April, 1689, at the head of 12,000 men and a considerable train of artillery. On the following day he arrived at Armagh and from thence proceeded to Charlemont, where he arrived on the 12th and probably proceeded to Dungannon on the following day. Tradition has it that he stopped overnight in Dungannon, and on continuing his journey towards Omagh paused to drink from a roadside spring in the townland of Altmore, at Mr. Shields' lands which has since been known as " King James's Well." To mark the site of this spring, the overflow of which passes into the Dungannon Waterworks catchment area, the Dungannon Urban Council has erected a neat cement fountain with the date " 1689 " engraved on it. This well is close to the ruins of the old barracks erected in the seventeenth century to house the soldiers engaged in restraining the activities of the notorious robber Shane Bernagh and his confederates. Indeed Mullaghcarn mountain where Shane Bernagh made his final stand and was killed, can be seen from this spot. A short distance from the well is a ridge where on that windy April day King James lost his hat which was blown into the adjacent swamp. The place is still called " King James's Hat," in the equivalent Gaelic vernacular.

De Avaux writing from Omagh to Louvois, says—" the King of England set out yesterday (12th April) from Charlemont, passed through Dungannon and came here this evening : this journey was twenty-three miles. [In] this part of Ireland the miles are equivalent to the leagues of France [French league, 2½ English miles]. All the equipages made the same journey."

King James had already been preceeded in Dungannon by Brigadier-General Pusignan, who had gone thither with reinforcements for Hamilton, and from which he wrote to D'Avaux. This

letter giving a striking picture of the state of affairs prevailing in the Irish army is printed in Appendix III.

At Dungannon James himself saw a regiment in which not a hundred muskets were fit to fire. He reached Omagh on the 13th April, 1689, but throughout the entire Irish campaign, showed a proper regard for his own safety, and some shots fired by his own men leading him to fear an attack, he hastily returned to Charlemont on April 16th, which he left on the following day arriving before Londonderry on the 18th, but that stiff-necked Protestant city showing no respect for royalty, James retired from the camp before Derry on 29th April, and returned to meet his memorable Parliament at Dublin.

While Londonderry was closely invested the Enniskilleners adopted the policy of attacking any enemy long before they approached the town. Thus some of their horse out on a scouting expedition, captured five prisoners on the road leading from Dungannon to Omagh, who on being examined, informed them that they belonged to Lord Clancarty who lay at Dungannon the night before upon his march with two Regiments of Foot, one of Horse, and one of Dragoons, to reinforce the camp before Derry, and that he would be at Omagh by three o'clock in the afternoon. However, no reinforcements that King James could send were able to overcome the resistance of the heroic city, and when it was tardily relieved by Kirke, all hope of its capture was at an end. For two days after the Irish continued to fire, but on the night of July 31, 1689, they set fire to their camp and turned their faces towards the south. On the retreat of the besiegers from Londonderry the rearguard of French cavalry passed through Castlecaulfield on their way to Dungannon, some three miles distant. The old narrow road which they traversed at Castlecaulfield is still called "The Frenchman's Lane." A party of Enniskillen horse who had scouted as far as Castlecaulfield on that day actually viewed the rearguard of King James's retreating army, but from their paucity of numbers and the tired condition of their horses, were unable to do any execution on the retiring force.

After the retreat of the army from before the walls of Derry the only military post held by the Jacobites in the north was Charlemont Fort.

In the autumn of 1689 Schomberg found it necessary to lodge a force in the vicinity of Charlemont to stop the enemy's incursions, but a party of the Irish garrison in that fort stole out one night towards the end of November and burnt Dungannon. However some of the buildings were evidently made habitable, as Colonel La Caillimote's regiment was stationed in Dungannon and Mountjoy during the winter. Charlemont fort surrendered to Schomberg

on 13th May, 1690, after a most gallant resistance, and the Williamite troops withdrew from the north leaving Dungannon to civilian activities once more.

CHAPTER XVII.
1690—1787.

Thomas Knox purchases Dungannon ; leases plot of ground for military barracks ; Dungannon ceases to be the county seat ; leases and rentals ; dragoons wreck a house ; John Wesley's visits to Dungannon.

Dungannon had been a centre of military activity in the time of the O'Neills, as well as in later years under the Stuarts, but with the change of dynasty its usefulness as a military centre passed away. The town must have been lying in ruins at the close of the Revolution, but we have no information regarding its rebuilding. Doubtless such of its inhabitants as had managed to tide over the troublous times made shift to rebuild their ruined homes, and for those that would return no more new settlers would be found to take their places.

The town and adjacent district must have recuperated fairly quickly, as when Thomas Knox purchased the estate shortly after the war it was said to be worth £1,000 per annum. The new owner of Dungannon town and manor was a Scotsman of good family who had settled in Belfast prior to the year 1669, as it is recorded in the "Town Book" of Belfast :—

"1669. Thomas Knox, merchant, Admitted and sworne a free Commoner and merchant of the Staple."

On 27th August, 1680 he was elected a free Burgess of the Corporation of Belfast, in the place of Gilbert Wye, who had resigned. This Gilbert Wye was Stewart to the Earl of Donegall, and pressure had been bought to bear upon him to induce him to resign in favour of Mr. Knox which caused dissatisfaction on the part of some of the Burgesses, as George Macartney, the Sovereign, has noted in the old town Book.

Thomas Knox, himself, was duly elected and served as Sovereign of Belfast, for the year ending Michaelmas 1686. We next find him in 1692 purchasing from Lord Donegall his manor of Dungannon. In the same year (1692) he was returned as Member of Parliament for Newtownards, on 26th September, when he is described as "of Dungannon." In 1695 he changed to his own borough of Dungannon. Evidently his large business interests in

Belfast did not permit his removing immediately to his new estate, as his letter resigning his Burgess-ship is dated 17th October, 1697, in which he says " I have now changed my place of residence and removed from Belfast to Dungannon, where I cannot be so useful nor serviceable to the Corporation as my inclinations do lead me, etc."

On 29th September, 1699, Thomas Knox leased to the King for 140 years a plot of ground for the site of a military barracks in Dungannon, at a rent of 20/- per annum. The plot of ground so leased was situated at the lower end of the town near the mill race.

Dungannon from the time of the Plantation had been the county town of Tyrone, but either towards the close of the seventeenth, or early in the eighteenth century the county seat was transferred to Omagh. The earliest mention of Omagh in this respect that the writer has been able to trace occurs in the " Journey to Ye North," by Dr. Thomas Molyneux, who writes under date of 7th August, 1708 :—" We left Strabane, two hours brought us to Newtown-Stewart, a small village belonging to Lord Mountjoy, through a very woody country to Omagh, which is but a small ordinary Town for **the County Town of Tyrone."**

The theory has been put forward that the county seat was transferred to Omagh to suit the convenience of the Judges of Assize going the north-west circuit, but owing to the destruction of the public records this cannot be verified, so the matter stands at present.

On July 11, 1716, Thomas Knox wrote from Dungannon to an unnamed government official complaining of certain arms being detained by Henry Mervyn, late High Sheriff of Tyrone, and requesting that he should be ordered to hand them over.

The plot of ground already mentioned as leased for the site of a military barracks was evidently utilised, as we find by a " Return of Army Stations—Ireland, 13th April, 1716," One Troop Lieut. General Palmes's Dragoons, Dungannon Barracks. One Troop, Dungannon Town." (P.R.O.)

With reference to these gallant dragoons we find amongst the Presentments to the Grand Jury of County Tyrone for the year 1728, the following :—

> " The officers of a dragoon regiment which was quartered at Dungannon, having quarrelled with an inhabitant of the town, drew out their soldiers, marched against his house, fired into it, broke it open and wrecked it, in spite of the remonstrance of the Provost of the Town." It is to be hoped that the culprits were properly dealt with, which is very doubtful.

Thomas Knox, upon the accession of the house of Hanover, was made a Privy Councillor, and declined a peerage, having no

male issue. At his death in 1728 his estate devolved upon his two daughters, Mary, who married the Right Hon. Oliver St. George, and Anne, who married Charles Echlin, of County Down, Esq. John Knox, his brother, had a family of several daughters and a son, Thomas, who succeeded to the Dungannon estate on the deaths of his cousins, Mrs. St. George, and Mrs. Echlin. He was M.P. for Dungannon from 1731 till his death in 1769.

The historical details to be gathered regarding Dungannon during the greater part of the eighteenth century are exceedingly scanty. In the "Report from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland (1835-36)" they state that the present records date from 1818, but that there was an older book which was not available, as Lord Ranfurly was abroad at the time. Owing to the break up of the Ranfurly residence at Dungannon, this older book if in existence, has not been available for the present history. The rentals and other documents connected with the Dungannon estate, now in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, occasionally afford us some information; thus on the 2nd May, 1740, there was a lease to William Whitsitt of "Tenements formerly possessed by William Christy and James Wilson, in Schoolhouse Lane. Tenements in Irish-street . . . also park on Gallows hill formerly possessed by James Dowdall, and now in possession of Captain Francis Nevil. The name "Gallows Hill" is a reminder of the days when the Assizes were held in Dungannon, and in those times when the theft of any article of the value of one shilling and upwards was punishable with death, hangings were plentiful.

The estimate of £1,000 per annum rental when Thomas Knox acquired the castle and manor of Dungannon from the Earl of Donegall, is borne out by the rental from May, 1744, to May, 1745, which amounted to £1580 16s 5d, showing a reasonable and natural increase arising from a continuance of peace and settled government. At this time the rent of Dungannon mills was £65 10s 0d, which was a large sum in those days, and shows that the mills must have been valuable. The miller, Charles Branan, had a free house. In this rental the ground previously leased to the Government for a barracks is referred to as "the horse barracks," showing that it must have been cavalry, or "horse," as they were then termed. This is confirmed by the notice of the outrageous conduct in 1728 of the officers and men of the dragoon regiment stationed at Dungannon.

The rental of 1744-5 also shows that Charles Echlin, Esq., was tenant of the Castle and demesne of Dungannon at a yearly rent of £23 14s 3d, which shows that the owners residence and grounds were not nearly so valuable as the Dungannon mills, unless upon the principle that "it is not lost that a friend gets," it may have been let under its current value. This quite possibly may have

been the case considering the close relationship between the parties.

Another entry of a lease dated 15th July, 1763, affords quite an interesting glimpse of the period. It is between Thomas Knox, Dungannon, and John Haddock, Covelush, parish of Clonfeacle, for three lives, of certain lands. Rent 6/8 per English acre, per annum, and 6d per £ receiver's fees, and three day's work of man and horse per annum.

On Thursday, 16th April, 1767, the great evangeiist, John Wesley, records in his journal :—" About one I preached to a large congregation in Dungannon, in the County Tyrone, and in the evening before the great old house at Castlecaulfield. The Society here the first fruits of this county seems to be all alive."

Many years were to elapse before a Society was formed in Dungannon, and the difficulty experienced by any religious body outside the established church in getting ground whereon to erect a place for worship, not only in the town but elsewhere, is illustrated by a covenant in a lease drawn 8th December, 1767, in which the rent was £12 19s 6d, and one shilling per £ Receiver's fees, etc. An additional rent of £30 per annum, if any house built or to be built on the land be used as Mass House or Meeting House. The lands for which the foregoing lease was granted were situated in the townland of Keenaghan, parish of Killyman. It is possible that this was Church land and that these terms were embodied in Mr. Knox's own lease. At anyrate, when the Seceders established a second congregation in Dungannon about the year 1822, Thomas Knox Hanyngton, Trustee for Viscount Northland, granted a lease for lives of the tenement known as the Poor House, with two plots of ground, one on either side at the yearly rent of £7 19s. 3d., and this rent was never charged or asked for. A memd^m^ was entered on the rent book stating that Lord Ranfurly has not hitherto charged rent for this tenement, nor is it his wish that any should be charged so long as it is held as a place of worship. It is also worthy of record that when the lease came to be renewed in 1882, and the congregation desired to acquire further adjoining ground for the purpose of enlarging their church and building a schoolhouse, etc , the present Earl of Ranfurly (Rt. Hon. Uchter John Mark) was equally generous.

In the years 1775 and 1776 John Wesley again preached in Dungannon, in the Market Place. Ten years later (1785) he was again in the town of the Volunteers, of which he gives this graphic little sketch :—"Although there has been preaching here for nearly twenty years no class has been formed, and there was no place for services except in the open air. The class conducted by Hercules Hall, of Castlecaulfield, met in the house of Michael Cross, of Irish-street.

Ungodly shoemakers in that locality prepared for his [Hall's] reception, not only with words but also with every kind of missile that came in their way."

Small wonder that the place was found unsuitable and the class removed to a new location that proved equally unsuitable, but at length they secured a room in the house of Dr. Temple in the Market Square, and here they were allowed to hold their class in peace.

Indefatigable in his journeyings to and fro, John Wesley visited Dungannon on 16th June, 1787, and gives us another lively sketch. He records his experience thus :—" I went on to Dungannon ; but the town seemed to be in an uproar. One would have thought Bedlam had broke loose. The cause of this : a cock-fight was at hand. A gentleman asked the Presbyterian minister for the use of his meeting-house in Scotch street but he gave a reason for his denial, namely that Mr. Hall, one of the Society, had said that he played cards all night (which it seems was true), and therefore he could not allow him to come in to his meeting-house. So we removed all the benches out of our own and it contained most of the congregation. I preached there again in the evening, and held a love feast at which they were greatly comforted."

The minister who refused John Wesley the use of the meeting-house on account of the charge of card-playing made against him by Hercules Hall, of Castlecaulfield, was the Rev. William Stitt, M.A., who was installed in Dungannon, 1st September, 1777, and died in that charge 1st September, 1803. His refusal of the meeting-house was due not to bigotry or narrowmindedness, but to Hall's charge of card-playing, and he afterwards gave permission to Dr. Coke to preach in it. (See Crookshank's History of Methodism in Ireland.)

However the troubles of the Dungannon Methodists with regard to a place of meeting were nearly over, as after much effort the Society had the joy of seeing a chapel completed and opened for public worship towards the close of the month of August, 1787.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1780—1784.

How Ireland was governed ; the rise of the Volunteers ; Thomas Knox recommended for a peerage ; Dungannon convention, 1782 ; second convention, 1783 ; state of Dungannon borough.

Prior to the seventeenth century Dungannon owes its place in history to its association with the princely family of O'Neill,

dynasts of Ulster, and in later years to the Volunteers—those armed patriots whose brief but glorious era left a lasting impress on the annals of their country.

From the early years of the seventeenth century, when Ireland, as a whole was subjugated by England, the consideration of its rulers had been, not the welfare or good government of the land. but to treat it as a conquered country to be exploited for the benefit of the victors. This policy was carried out in Ireland by a small body of landlords and the higher clergy of the Established church, The American colonies with not a tithe of Ireland's grievances had risen in revolt, with the result that England found herself at war not only on the American continent, but in Europe with France and Spain as well. The hostile squadron of Paul Jones had in April, 1778, captured a ship of war in Belfast Lough, and an invasion was daily, almost hourly, feared. Official news having been received about this time that an invasion of Belfast was imminent, the Sovereign of that important town asked that troops be sent for its protection, but it was answered that only half a troop of dismounted horsemen and half a company of invalids could be spared to defend the capital of Ulster.

The people at once flew to arms and in March, 1778, the first Volunteer company was formed in Belfast. From thence all over the country swift as lightning, fierce as flame, the movement spread througout the land, and soon Ireland had an independent citizen army vowed not only to defend her shores, but to right her wrongs. The writer remembers hearing the late Lord Salisbury, out of his experience as Foreign Secretary, utter the dictum, that " it greatly simplified negotiations for a country to have an adequate army at its command," and the Volunteers now (1780) feeling that they were an armed and disciplined force capable of repelling any armed invasion by a foreign power, were the medium through which the national sentiment found vent in demanding a fundamental change in the constitution of the country.

This being diametrically opposed to the policy of the English government, the Lord Lieutenant (Buckingham) during the last months of his administration had been reduced to the necessity of opposing the overwhelming demand of the Irish people, and nearly all the honest men in parliament, by the most flagrant and overwhelming bribery (Lecky II. 261).

In a letter to Lord North, dated Dublin Castle, September 8, 1780, he says :—" Nothing could be more against my inclinations than yielding to solicitations of gentlemen upon the line of the peerage but without engagements strongly to recommend several of that mark to his Majesty's favour at the close of the session it would have been impossible for me in any sort to have surmounted

the various difficulties which have lately attended the Government.

"I must therefore request that your Lordship will submit the following names to his Majesty :—

" . . . Mr. Knox is a gentleman of respectable family, with a very large property, and has, with two sons, supported the Government. He was also strongly recommended by Colonel Burton. . . ."

In a later letter of 19th November, 1780, Buckingham lays his "humble thanks before His Majesty, expressive of the most unshaken loyalty and zealous attachment for his gracious condescension in accepting so many of my recommendations to the peerage, and advancement in rank, and as soon as I can obtain the new title of each person, I will immediately transmit them to your Lordship." Accordingly Thomas Knox, was on 16th January, 1781, created Baron Welles, of Dungannon, county Tyrone, in the peerage of Ireland.

With regard to the Knox peerage Mrs. Warrenne Blake, in her preface to "Memoirs of a Vanished Generation," states :—"It is said that he [Thomas Knox] was offered a Marquisate, but refused, shrewdly stipulating that some of his numerous family should be provided for. Accordingly William Knox was made Bishop of Derry, with an income of at least £10,000 a year ; Edmund became Bishop of Limerick ; and John, a Major General, appointed Governor of Jamaica, and lost at sea." Mrs. Blake puts the matter modestly; further particulars will be found later on as to the official positions held by the family of Thomas Knox.

The different bodies of Volunteers had frequently passed political resolutions, but many of the patriotic leaders of Ulster felt that it was necessary to bring the influence of the force to bear more directly upon their parliamentary representatives. On 28th December, 1781, the officers and delegates of the 1st Ulster Regiment commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, assembled at Armagh under the presidency of Francis Evans, and passed a series of resolutions deploring the little attention paid to constitutional rights by their parliamentary representatives and asserting that the Constitution could only be restored to its original purity by pursuing the most vigorous and effectual methods to root out court influence from the legislative body. In order to attain this end they summoned representatives of the Volunteers of the province of Ulster to meet at Dungannon on 15th February, 1782.

In response to this invitation the delegates of 143 corps of Ulster Volunteers assembled in the Presbyterian Meeting House (now Scotch Street Presbyterian Church), Dungannon. This building would seem to have been the most suitable and commodious in the town, and was a favourite

meeting place of the Synod of Ulster, then the supreme ecclesiastical court of the Irish Presbyterians. During the eighteenth century no less than twenty-five yearly and two special meetings of the Synod were held in that building.

Such the time and place of the meeting that was destined to have an immediate and decisive effect on the fortunes of the nation. From all over Ulster the delegates flocked into Dungannon, representing over 32,000 armed men, clothed in the uniforms and armed with the weapons of their respective regiments, they marched two and two in to the place of meeting. Colonel William Irwin was called to the chair, and a series of resolutions which had been drawn up by Charlemont, Flood, Grattan, Stewart, and Francis Dobbs, were submitted to the assembly.

"They first resolved unanimously—That a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights. II. " Resolved unanimously, That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance."

There were many other resolutions and the meeting terminated with the adoption of an address to the patriot minorities in the Lords and Commons.

In all parts of the other three provinces the Volunteers hastened to adopt the Dungannon resolutions, and backed by popular opinion, now at fever heat, when the Irish Parliament reassembled on 16th April (1782) after the Easter recess, Grattan moved his famous amendment to the King's speech, which was practically a repetition of the Dungannon resolutions. It was seconded and passed unanimously amid scenes of unparalleled enthusiasm.

The Volunteers having succeeded in freeing the Irish Parliament from the English government and Privy Council, now proceeded to tackle the question of parliamentary reform. At a meeting of delegates from forty-five companies of the province of Ulster, assembled at Lisburn, 1st July, 1783, it was " Resolved unanimously, that a general meeting of the volunteer delegates of the province of Ulster, on the subject of a more equal representation of the people in parliament, is hereby earnestly entreated ; to be held at Dungannon, on Monday, 8th September next."

'Accordingly at half past twelve o'clock, the Committee of Correspondence having taken their places, the remaining Delegates, to the number of at least 500, from two hundred and seventy Corps of Volunteers, were admitted by tickets into the lower part of the Dissenting Meeting-house ; an amazing crowd of ladies and gentlemen occupying the galleries.'

Colonel James Stewart (of Killymoon, Colonel of the Tyrone

regiment, and M.P. for the county) was unanimously appointed Chairman, Colonel William Irwin, who had presided at the previous Convention being unavoidably absent. Both Froude in his history of the "English in Ireland in the eighteenth century," Vol. II., and W. S. Childe-Pemberton in his "Life of Fredrick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, and Earl of Bristol," make the mistake of stating that Colonel Robert Stewart, afterwards Marquess of Londonderry, and father of the more celebrated Lord Castlereagh, presided over the meeting. The correct facts are that at the close of the Conference Colonel James Stewart left the chair, and Colonel Robert Stewart of the 1st Independent County of Down Regiment, was unanimously called thereto for the purpose of passing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Secretary (Captain James Dawson),

To the second Convention held in Dungannon in 1783 there came as the representative of the Derry Volunteers one of the most notable figures of the time, and at this period Ireland had many men of outstanding personality, but none so remarkable as Fredrick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, and Earl of Bristol. To the great wealth which he had inherited with the earldom there was also added the family strain of eccentricity, which gave rise to the saying that the human species was composed of three divisions—"Men, Women, and Herveys." Although he may not have travelled to Dungannon in the royal state which he displayed at the succeeding Dublin Convention, he was certain to have arrived in a carriage and four, with outriders, and a splendidly mounted cavalry escort.

From a note in the "Political Magazine," for 1783, p. 356, it would appear that a subscription headed by the Earl-Bishop was started towards the erection of a building for this meeting, but the project does not appear to have materialised. The Earl's subscription towards putting the plan into execution was £500, and his young son, Fredrick, was also down on the list for £50.

The Bishop took a prominent part in the proceedings, and fifteen members of Parliament were in attendance. Stringent resolutions were passed demanding a sweeping reform in the Irish House of Commons, which as then constituted was returned by the mandates of a few peers and commoners, and was in no sense a representation of the people. Five persons were chosen from each county to represent the province in the national Convention to be held in Dublin, on the 10th November, and amongst those selected was the Earl-Bishop, who was the hero of the gathering. The Rev. Robert Black, presbyterian minister, at that time practically unknown, made by far the best speech delivered at the meeting.

The Delegates to show their appreciation—"Resolved unanimously, That the sincere Thanks of this Meeting be presented to the inhabitants of Dungannon, for their very polite conduct, and

to the Dungannon Battalion, for their vigilant conduct when on guard this day.'

That night in Dungannon there was the clink of glasses and the clang of steel, and so great was the throng of visitors that many of the Volunteer delegates were unable to procure sleeping accommodation, and were obliged to be put up for the night in the Presbyterian Meeting House.

The story of the collapse of the Dublin Convention at which the Bishop of Derry was a still more outstanding figure than at Dungannon, belongs not to local but to national history.

It was proposed to erect an obelisk or column on the castle hill to celebrate the Volunteer Conventions held in Dungannon, but this like the previous project, fell through. It was perhaps on the occasion of the last failure that Sir Capel Molyneux erected the Volunteer obelisk still to be seen in the grounds of Castledillon.

Perhaps it was as well that no memorial was set up in view of the "State of the Borough-Representation in Ireland," printed in "The History of the Proceedings and Debates of the Volunteer Delegates, etc. Dublin, 1784."

> "**Dungannon**, although the chosen seat of Freedom, yet, as to the return of members to serve in Parliament, is a venal, corrupt and rotten borough; the electors, a Returning Officer, and 12 Burgesses, nominated by —Patron, Lord Welles." p. 153.

Although Dungannon figures so prominently in the Volunteer annals there is very little to be gleaned regarding the local companies MacNevin gives "Dungannon Battalion, Major Duffin; Dungannon Volunteers, Captain Richardson." The Rev. Adam Duffin, who was ordained in Dungannon, 10th October, 1744, left six children, one of whom, Roger, is given in a list printed in the "Life of Grattan,' II. 454, as signing on behalf of the Dungannon Battalion, an "Address to the Lord Lieutenant, and offers of service."

There are no notices of any of the Knox family in connection with the Volunteers, nor is there any medals, of either Dungannon battalion or company known to the writer. There is one of an adjacent Corps which was in the collection of the late Robert Day, of Cork.

Dunemoney Volunteers Badge. This is a silver Badge, showing the harp, crowned with the title "Dunemoney Volunteers," on the ribbons, one above and one below the harp. It was found in the moat of the old castle at Castlecaulfield, County Tyrone, close to which is the townland of Dunemoney. It is figured in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," II. 81. New series.

CHAPTER XIX.
1784—1800.

Decline of the Volunteers ; Dungannon's third convention ; centre of the linen trade ; subsidies for canal to Dungannon ; Drumglass collieries.

The failure of the National Convention held in Dublin in the autumn of 1783, marked the turning point in the political influence wielded by the Volunteers, and from this time their power rapidly declined. After the dissolution of the Dublin Convention a great portion of the more respectable men connected with the movement retired from its ranks, but the more ardent reformers carried on, and the taste for arming and drilling descended to a lower strata of society.

Unfortunately there were ample grounds for agitation, and Grattan, in the beginning of 1790 described in a few graphic words the condition of the Irish House of Commons. 'Above two-thirds of the returns of this House are private property ; of these returns many are actually sold this moment to the minister ; the number of placemen and pensioners sitting in this House equals near one half of the whole efficient body ; the increase of that number within the last twenty years is greater than all the counties of Ireland'. (Speeches II. 210).

The obstinate resistance of the majority to all attempts to reform and purify the membership of the Irish House of Commons, where Protestant yoeman and Roman Catholic merchant and althe best elements of the country were unrepresented and disfranchised was well calculated to keep alive and vigorous the agitation for reform. So Dungannon was appointed as the meeting place of a third convention. Accordingly, on 15th February, 1793, an Ulster Convention of county delegates promoted by the now rising body of the United Irishmen was held in the Presbyterian Meeting House under the presidency of William Sharman, ancestor of the Sharman-Crawfords of Crawfordsburn, County Down. The pews on the ground floor were occupied by the delegates, and the galleries were filled by the general public, the front row being crowded by a group of elegantly dressed young ladies. Resolutions were passed declaring against Republican government, but demanding Roman Catholic Emancipation, and a " fair and rational " representation of the people by elections frequently repeated. The Rev. William Steel Dickson, D.D., was one of the chief speakers, and he had " no inconsiderable share in preparing and modifying the resolutions." So

great was the impression made by his eloquence that a number of the principal inhabitants assembled, and in order to have their curiosity gratified, sent a deputation to request that he would oblige them with a sermon at five in the evening.' This request, presented by the Rev. Mr. Stitt, was granted, and the writer in the "Northern Star," from whose report the foregoing quotation is taken, goes on to say :—"Before the hour the house was crowded with all the principal people of the place of all religious persuasions, among whom were the Established and the Catholic clergy. The Doctor took as his text Joseph's advice to his brethren, " See that ye fall not out by the way." Had there been a want of unanimity on the subjects now in agitation the Doctor's arguments would certainly have united us. United as we are he has strengthened our union."

This year (1793) Dr. Dickson had the honour of being chosen Moderator of the Synod of Ulster, and a year afterwards, as outgoing Moderator, he again occupied the pulpit of the Church of the Volunteers.

On the re-arrangement of the parliamentary representation consequent on the Act of Union, two of the Tyrone boroughs (Clogher and Augher) were wiped out, and Dungannon reduced to one representative.

In consequence of the relaxation of commercial restrictions following on the constitution of 1782, Ireland enjoyed a period of prosperity and the linen trade advanced by leaps and bounds. In the Minutes of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufacturers of Ireland, we get occasional references to Dungannon, which shows that it was one of the most important, if not the most important Linen market in the north of Ireland. Lord Welles, or some of the Knox family had a seat on the Board.

In addition to the spinning and weaving carried on in almost every farmhouse and cottage all over the country, the trade of bleaching was also a considerable industry. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the following were owners of bleach greens in the locality :—Duffin & Co., William Grier, Robert Grier, Thomas Grier, John Grier, John Wilcock, and — Purcel.

In 1784 the sales of linen in Dungannon market averaged £1,500 per week, and steadily increased till the introduction of steam power gradually displaced manual production. Occasional complaints cropped up, thus an English firm made a claim in 1809 regarding fifty-six pieces of Dowlas being faulty. These were sealed at the ends, " William Greer, registered Bleacher," and on the outside, " James Burrows, Prospect, Dungannon. " In this same year (1809) William Pike, of Woodmount, near Dungannon, lodged a claim for the bounty on 42,242 yards of Duck which he had manu-

factured, amounting to £381 19s 7d, which on consideration the Board allowed. Even as early as this period machinery was beginning to compete with hand work, as in the years 1808-9, William Pike, who seems to have been an enterprising man had erected 244 spindles for spinning linen yarn and there is a record of his having been paid by the Linen Board for erecting spinning machinery the sum of £507 14s 7½d to give the exact figures.

During the period under review (from 1780 onwards), the lord of the manor encouraged the development of the linen manufacture consistent with his own interest, by granting leases of plots of from three to five acres of ground. For agricultural purposes the rent was about 6/- to 8/- per acre in the manor of Dungannon, towards the close of the eighteenth century, but for the purpose of a linen factory the rent was about £1 per acre.

In the year 1816 the weekly sales were £4,000, about 1,200 weavers attended the market, and there was an attendance of 100 to 120 buyers, both local and from a distance. Belfast sales at this date were only the same amount, and the only market that exceeded Dungannon in Ulster, and consequently in all Ireland, was Lisburn, with a weekly turnover of £5,000.

During the year 1823, Benjamin Patterson, of Cookstown, who was Inspector for the East District of Tyrone, in a letter to the Board, says :—" Dungannon, Stewartstown, and Cookstown are the only flax markets in my district, of which Dungannon is the principal."

This seems to have been about the high water mark of the linen trade in Dungannon as in 1832 the ' Commissioners Report on the Parliamentary Representation of Ireland ' mentions that the " Linen trade has declined considerably." However the number of power driven mills and factories in and around Dungannon to-day shows that the town still keeps a hold of its share of the world's linen trade.

With the awakening and development of Irish industries during the eighteenth century there arose the need for improved roads and ways of communication, the most obvious of which at that period was by means of canals. The Newry Canal leading from Carlingford Lough to Portadown had been begun as early as 1730, and in an Act (27 Geo. II. 1753) for granting money for public works, etc., amongst other sums is :—" £4,000 to George, Archbishop of Armagh, John, Archbishop of Tuam, Hon. Arthur Hill, and Rev. Thomas Staples, clerk, to make a waggon way, and to carry on a coalwork at Drumglass."

Evidently either the waggon way was not made or did not prove a success, and in the meantime the promoters had formed what we would now term a company, as we find in 1763 a grant of

"£4,000 to the Corporation for promoting inland navigation towards making and completing a navigation for ships of one hundred tons burthen, from Fathom Point, near Newry, to Drumglass colliery."

If Dungannon did not become the seaport of mid-Ulster it was not the fault of the Corporation for inland navigation, as in 1763 they had a grant of £1,154 12s 5d—there's exactness—towards this object, as well as a second grant of £5,000—a good round satisfying sum—this time for the same.

Then in the seventh year of good King George III., which was 1767, there was another £5,000 to the "corporation for inland navigation for the Drumglass navigation to the colliery basin in the county of Tyrone." In 1769 the astute gentlemen who were working this affair got another grant, this time it was £3,000, to cut a canal. The money was voted and we may be sure that the grantees saw that it was duly paid, but what became of it would 'puzzle the Quakers,' for M'Evoy (Stat. Sur. Tyrone, 134) writing about 1800 or 1801, says "Dungannon has been for many years back a flourishing town: how a canal would add to its prosperity needs no demonstration."

Evidently the canal stunt as a means of getting grants from even so easy-going a body as the Irish Parliament, was beginning to wear a little thin, so by way of a change the next grant in 1783-4 was for "£2,000 to John Staples and James Caulfield, to enable them to erect a steam engine at their collieries in Tyrone."

This is a very interesting local notice, and if Messrs. Staples and Caulfield applied the money to the use for which it was granted, then Dungannon probably had the honour of having the first steam engine in Ireland. This engine would have been used for the purpose of pumping, the same as Boulton and Watt had supplied to a number of Cornish mines between 1775 and 1781. It was only after this date that Watt improved his engine so that it could give continuous rotary motion to a shaft.

That the grant, whether immediately or somewhat later, was applied to its proper use, we find from a petition in the year 1789 to the Irish House of Commons, in which they state that they had completed their fire engine (now steam engine) at an expense of more than the £2,000 granted by Parliament, and prayed for further assistance to make a road to the Head of the Newry Navigation. This was a waggon way to the head of the Navigation at Coalisland.

Their petition was favourably reported on by the Parliamentary Committee on March 9th, and the grant was later on embodied in a bill, 29 Geo. III. (H. of C. Journals, 1789).

The canal from Drumglass short or long, whether to Lough Neagh or Newry, did not materialise, and in 1787, there were a number of Commissioners appointed, ranging from the Lord Primate

down to the rector of the parish and the master of the Free School. These gentlemen were made a corporation by the name of "the corporation for promoting and carrying on the Tyrone navigation." From 1785 onwards the Parliamentary grants are all included in a lump sum so that we are unable to trace the specific sums allotted to the various localities and industries, but it is likely that the Drumglass grants went on as merrily as usual. However in an Act passed in 1789 for the support of the Linen Manufacture by making a communication between Lough Neagh and the collieries at Drumglass, Section I. recites :—" A sum, not exceeding £2,000 shall be paid by the vice-treasurer out of the first duties to Jno. Staples and James Caulfield, Esqrs., in order to their making a track-way from Drumglass colliery to the said navigation."

M'Evoy, when making his ' Survey ' saw the colliery at Coalisland in the summer of 1800, when five pits were working. He then goes on to say :—" Near the town of Dungannon some pits were sunk, and I believe, some years ago much coals was raised. Here a fire or steam engine was erected in the summer of 1800 ; a pit was then sunk in the new town of Dungannon, or very convenient to it, from the situation of which there is much to be apprehended, from water annoying the work "

CHAPTER XX.
1793—1842.

The United Irishmen ; yeomanry embodied ; Knox family residences ; Dungannon rebuilt ; the first bank ; romantic marriage of Thomas Knox; his family and their employments; parliamentary reform ; Dungannon Poor Law Union ; erection of workhouse.

The Volunteers were succeeded in their political activities by the United Irishmen as already described. This society was founded to embrace Irishmen of all creeds and classes in its ranks, and at the outset was quite open and public in its constitution and conduct, but afterwards developed into a secret, oath-bound association whose wide spread activities caused great anxiety not only to the executive but to the land-owning and governing class.

Under these circumstances Dr. Richardson, rector of Clonfeacle, in conjunction with the Hon. Thomas Knox, M.P. for county Tyrone, formed the idea of embodying corps of Yoemanry which would be at the service of the Government in case of disaffection or more active rebellion. The plan was submitted to the proper

authorities and accepted by the Government in the month of September, 1796. So successful was the project that in a short space of time twenty-five Corps were embodied in the Barony of Dungannon, consisting of 3,037 men not including officers.

When the rebellion broke out at Antrim in June 1798, the news was brought to General John Knox at Dungannon at 4 o'clock in the morning. He at once called out the yoemen, stationing bodies of them in every town and village, and thus the county was made secure. The Hon. Thomas Knox also took an active part in the proceedings, so that under the circumstances the county Tyrone remained undisturbed.

Dungannon at the time of the Volunteer Conventions was an insignificant town of thatched houses, having only two or three dwellings of sufficient importance to be slated. The house in which Thomas Knox originally lived was according to tradition on the western side of Market Square—the site is now occupied with shops. The second residence is what is now known as 'the farmhouse' in the demesne. The third residence—Northland House, was built by Thomas, Viscount Northland, for his eldest son and heir, Thomas, 2nd Viscount, and 1st Earl (known as 'the old Earl') on his marriage, 2nd June, 1785, with Diana Jane, eldest daughter and coheiress of Edmund, Viscount Pery, after whom the street now incorrectly spelled Perry-street is named. On the subject of the third Northland residence there is an interesting letter printed in "Memoirs of a Vanished Generation," from Elizabeth J. Knox, dated from Versailles, July 31, 1842. . . 'I had a long letter from Mary the other day, with an account of the improvements uncle R[anfurly] is making at Dungannon. Part of the Park house is to be converted into a dairy, and 40 cows bought to begin with. They are setting up three new schools—in short they seem to be doing much good there. They never see any company even at dinner, on ccount of the house not being in reception order. However I think they like being there. The house is no longer to be called 'Northland House,' but 'Dungannon Park.' (p. 180).

Increasing commercial prosperity brought with it the demand for improved shops and dwellings towards the close of the eighteenth century, and M'Evoy in his "Statistical Survey of Tyrone," says :—

> "Dungannon, one of the most prosperous towns in the North of Ireland in the linen trade, nor is it inferior to any for its rapid progress in building. When the new town will be completed, Dungannon altogether will have no equal in the north. In the buildings there is one fault, and that is that the houses are narrow, which in buildings in general is certainly bad economy." The O.S. Memoir (1828) says "the town in the remembrance of persons now living was a very small in-

significant place formed with one or two exceptions, of poor thatched houses."

The wave of industrial and commercial prosperity towards the end of the eighteenth century induced the setting up of private banks in a number of Ulster towns, of which Dungannon with its great linen market was one. The "Dungannon Bank," appears in 1804 as Knox and Hanyngton, but this may be an error, as a few years later, in 1806, it was Thomas Knox Hanyngton, and as such it remained till its disappearance in 1815 or 16. From his second name he would seem to have been connected with the Knox family, and his being a freeman of the borough lends colour to the suggestion. As early as 1789 there was a lease from the Rt. Hon. Thomas, Lord Baron Welles, to Thomas Knox Hanyngton, of Dungannon, for 68 acres of land for three lives, and from this time onwards there are a number of leases to him of various lands down to 1819. He died about the year 1823. The banker's daughter, Euphemia Caulfield Hanyngton, married first, Captain Dalton, R.E., and secondly, Major General William Sullivan, second son of Sir Richard J. Sullivan, Bart., and died in 1877. Thomas Knox Hanyngton erected a castle for his residence about the year 1790, on the site of the old O'Neill residence, the ruins of which may still be seen. The castle hill which was also the site of Gennan's dun, was acquired by the Orange body in 1927.

We now return to the Knox family, whose head, Thomas Knox, had been created Baron Welles for his parliamentary support of the Government, and the vacancy thus created in the representation of Dungannon, was filled by the election of the Rt. Hon. William Eden, recently come over to Ireland as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. That this support was steadily continued we may infer from the fact that Baron Welles got advanced another step in the peerage, being created Viscount Northland in 1791. 'There is a tradition that a daughter of Lord Knapton, beautiful Anne Vesey, was gathering blackberries in a lane when Thomas Knox rode by, and fell in love with her. Though she was only fifteen they married (25th August, 1753) and spent their lives together in a grey stone house of very modest appearance, quite out of proportion to the size and beauty of the Park by which it was surrounded, and very different to the imposing mansion built on a different site by their grandson.'

By this marriage Thomas Knox had a family of seven sons, of whom John his second son, who represented Dungannon for a time, became a Major General, and was appointed Governor of Jamaica. He was lost on his passage to that island in the year 1800. The fourth son, William, became Bishop of Derry, which see was said to be worth £10,000 a year, and the seventh son, Edmund,

Bishop of Limerick, while the sixth, Charles, was appointed Rector of the parishes of Aghaloo and Carnteel, and Archdeacon of Armagh. An account of the reverend gentleman and his activities will be found in the second edition of "Annals of Aughnacloy and of the Parish of Carnteel," pages 32 to 38. In 1792 we find the Hon. Thomas Knox, heir to Viscount Northland, and two others appointed Weighmasters of the city of Cork, and in 1799 Vesey Knox, the third son, who lived at Bernagh, near Dungannon, appointed to the same position, which he held up till 1810. The Hon. George Knox, fifth son, had the degree of L.L.D. **Honoris Causa**, conferred on him in 1795, by T.C.D. and sat for the University in the Parliament of 1798. He held the post of Commissioner of Revenue, and afterwards was one of the Commissioners of the Treasury in Ireland, Further particulars of George Knox and other members of the family will be found in the list of Dungannon M.P.'s, Appendix IV.

Thomas, first Viscount Northland, died 5th December, 1818, and if we judge him by the dictum of Holy Writ—"But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel," (1 Tim. v. 8.), then Thomas Knox stands high in the ranks of the religious. He was succeeded by his eldest son Thomas, created Baron Ranfurly, 6th July, 1826, and advanced to the dignity of Earl of Ranfurly, in 1831. Under his auspices a Savings Bank was established in Dungannon in 1819, and happily is still flourishing.

We get a rather interesting sidelight on Dungannon history in a book entitled "Travels in Ireland in the year 1822, etc.," which was published in the following year. It was written by Dr. Thomas Reid, a native of Cadian, near Eglish. The farm on which he was brought up was in possession of the family down to 1912. On his tour he arrived in Dungannon, 23rd June, 1822. He describes it as a good linen market, and goes on—"Sessions are held here twice a year, at which an assistant barrister presides. Under the Sessions-house is a gaol which may be said to be partly underground. This receptacle may boast of every inconvenience that can possibly attend the very worst constructed prisons . . . These damp and wretched dungeons are 10 x 8 feet, and are intended for the lodgment of six prisoners each, but I am assured that seventeen prisoners have been crammed into one of them . . .

The prisoners are transferred to Omagh on the 1st of every month. Walls kept whitewashed and the cells and bedding kept clean. And the gaoler appears to discharge his duty with as much humanity and attention as the nature of the prison will admit." The old Sessions house and temporary prison is now the office of the "Tyrone Courier."

Dr. Reid has a niche in the Dictionary of National Biography, and there is as well a very much fuller account of him by Dr. Latimer in the " Irish Book Lover," Vol. IV., pp 5-7.

An interesting momento of Dungannon civic life a century ago is a pewter measure engraved " Dungannon Corporation, 1826. Imperial Negan." This was one of the corporation's standard measures, and there are also still in existence some bell shaped standard iron weights belonging to the same period. The measure is in the possession of Mr. J. M. Gray, who has also a beautiful bronze celt in a fine state of preservation, which he picked up accidentally in his boyhood when playing in the castle grounds, and had the thoughtfulness to preserve. This is a most interesting relic that carries us back to the dim past when Gennan had his fortress residence on the lofty hill.

A tragic incident happened in connection with Dungannon when Thomas M'Crory was murdered on his way home from market on the evening of Thursday, 26th April, 1827. For this murder George Richey was tried and found guilty at the Omagh Assizes, August, 1827. It was made a party question and aroused unprecedented interest throughout the district, many persons believing Richey to be innocent. Full details of this dramatic case have already been given in the writer's " Annals of Aughnacloy, and of the parish of Carnteel," the parties residing between the two places.

At this period the Ordnance Survey of Ireland was being made, and the Memoirs (1828) state that " A Corn Market is held every Monday which in general is largely supplied. The Distillers are the principal purchasers." The distillery was situated at Milltown, and was owned by a Mr. Falls. The linen market turnover had now dropped to about £1,000 per week ; and the four fairs formerly held had fallen into disuse. A new courthouse was erected in 1830 ; having a bridewell under it containing a day-room and cells for male and female prisoners. There was also a new Corn market, and the Drumglass Collieries were being worked by the London Hibernian Mining Co.

The Reform Bill of 1832 gave its quietus to the English rotten borough system of representation. This was followed by an Irish Reform Act. When the Act of Union was passed, Dungannon had reserved to it the privilege of sending one member to the parliament of the United Kingdom. " The twelve free Burgesses in whom the franchise was exclusively vested until the Reform Act (2nd Wm. IV.) were all nominees of the Knox family, or its head, Lord Viscount Northland, now Earl of Ranfurly ; indeed the greater number were members of that family. Upon the passing of that Act, seven of those free burgesses, who resided beyond the limits thereby prescribed (seven miles from the place of election) im-

mediately resigned and seven other persons who resided within the prescribed limits were elected in their places."

"In 1818 eight out of the twelve Free Burgesses were Knoxes, and of the four Freemen, three were Knoxes, the fourth being Thomas Knox Hanyngton."

By the Reform Act, the right of electing a member of parliament for the borough was vested in the resident freemen and £10 householders; the Portreeve being the returning officer; of the old corporation after the passing of the Reform Act there remained eight members qualified to vote. To these were added the £10 householders. To both were superadded in 1850, the £8 rated occupiers. However the Knox family by their territorial influence were still able to maintain and preserve Dungannon as a close borough, until the Ballot Act enabled the electors to vote in secrecy and safety for the representative each considered most fitting.

In 1816 a dispensary was established under the superintendence of Surgeon Sinclair, which was rendered unnecessary by the Poor Law Act of 1838, under the provisions of which Dungannon Poor Law Union was declared, 20th July, 1839. The Workhouse was contracted for in October, 1840, to be completed October, 1841. The cost was £6,650 for buildings and completion of works, and £1,350 for fittings and contingencies. The date of first admission of paupers was 23rd June, 1842. It was one of the one hundred and thirty workhouses which were provided by means of a loan of one million pounds.

CHAPTER XXI.
DUNGANNON ROYAL SCHOOL.

Free school established at Mountjoy; rebellion of 1641 and death of first master; early head masters; erection of new school buildings; later heads of school; distinguished pupils.

In the year 1608 John Leigh, who was High Sheriff of Tyrone, making a report regarding that county, amongst many other matters, remarks:— . . . "I likewise observed a great defect of schools

in those parts for the instruction of their youth, while upon conference with the best gentlemen in every quarter of the country, I have found them very willing and desirous to have schools for that purpose settled amongst them."

Probably on account of this and other recommendations there was included in the Scheme of Plantation a free school in each of the escheated counties, that for Tyrone to be situated in the Barony of Dungannon, at Mountjoy, and to have 750 acres assigned for its maintenance. These school lands were to be leased by the schoolmaster at the best rent, but he was restricted to granting leases for the term of his own life, and the rents received before the appointment of the schoolmaster were to be laid out in building the school-house and house of the master. The patent for these lands was passed 13th May, 1615, to the Archbishop of Armagh, who had also the nomination of the School-master. Accordingly John Bullinbrooke was appointed School-master during good behaviour.

Mountjoy fortress, overlooking Lough Neagh, was intended to be a parliamentary borough returning a representative to Parliament, but this was never carried out, and no town appears to have been built. However the school seems to have been successful, as Charles I. made a further grant dated 15th December, 1626, of 720 acres, for the use and behoof of the master of the free school at the town of Mountjoy in the county of Tyrone, for the time being and forever. There is no further record of how the school succeeded, but we know from the Deposition of Anne Bullenbroke, his widow, that he was still master of the Free School when the rebellion broke out, and that on Saturday, 24th October, 1641, she and her husband were stripped and robbed of goods and chattels and other personal estate to the amount of £700 and upwards. Through the hardships they sustained her husband and one child died of hunger and cold. This interesting Deposition will be found in Appendix II.

During the years of the rebellion and Interregnum we have no information regarding the school, but there is every probability that when a new school was erected after the Commonwealth period to take the place of the free school destroyed at Mountjoy, Dungannon, for obvious reasons, was the place selected as a more eligible position.

It was about the month of November, 1662, that a boy of twelve learning that a school was established at Dungannon, betook himself thither. The boy was William King, son of James King, a native of northern Scotland and a rigid Presbyterian. At that time boys belonging to non-Episcopalian denominations on becoming pupils were obliged to " Conform " to the established church, ch in this instance gained to her service one of the most outstandmen and greatest intellects of his day. Probably the master

did not take in boarders, boys from a distance residing in the houses of the inhabitants, and young King lodged in a cooper's family. He was admitted to T.C.D., 18th April, 1667.

The first site of the school that we know of was in what is now known as Union Lane or Place. Amongst the MSS. in the British Museum there is a report on "The Free Schools of Ulster in 1673," (Sloane, No. 202) by the Archbishop of Armagh (James Margetson, Primate 1663-1678) in which he says :—"In the Diocese of Armagh there is one free school at Dungannon endowed with lands to the value of £60 p. annm, whereof ffrancis ffletcher is master where there is also a good schoolhouse." The report is dated 28th August, 1673, and this with the previous reference proves the school to have been removed to Dungannon much earlier than any former writer has supposed. Francis Fletcher, M.A., was an Englishman, who had evidently been teaching in Dublin before his appointment to Dungannon free school. He was succeeded by his son, John Fletcher, B.A, 1675, who was appointed master, 27th July, 1682. He was also curate of Drumglass. The next master was Richard Martin, M.A. No date, but possibly, 1694, and six years later he removed to Armagh, when he was succeeded by Robert Harvey, B.A., whose appointment is dated 26th November, 1700. He held the mastership till 1720, when on 5th April of that year Rev. Robert Blackhall, M.A., succeeded him. He was the son of John Blackhall, of Lisburn, was educated at Londonderry and T.C.D. Mr. Blackhall held the position until his death, when the Rev. Foulke Moore, B.A., was appointed 12th April, 1756. The next master was the Rev. William Murray, M.A., December, 1777, vice Moore deceased.

The school with the lapse of years having apparently outgrown the premises, now old and unsuitable, Primate Robinson, the munificent benefactor of Armagh, secured the site, on which the present school buildings were erected at an expense of £4,626, of which the Primate personally contributed £2,000, as well as presenting the site. The endowment was increased from time to time until it finally amounted to 3,900 acres. This being in the hands of the head master, who, during his tenure of office, was virtually the landlord, was a source of considerable trouble, the people of the locality holding that the school was endowed for the purpose of providing free education for the children of the inhabitants of County Tyrone, and the master insisting on charging fees. Eventually in 1831 the property of this and other endowed schools was vested in the Commissioners of Education in Ireland, and the schools themselves placed under their control.

We get a glimpse of the school in the beginning of the nineteenth century in "A Tour in Ireland in 1813-14," by an Englishman who visited Dungannon. He says :—"In this town there is

one of those called free schools, with an endowment of about £1,400 per annum. This, as is universally the case is kept by a clergyman of the establishment ; but I cannot find that the public receive any benefit from the £1,400 per annum."

Then in the appendix he has the further pungent note :

" Dungannon School. Lands set at £1,481 4s 9d per annum ; no scholar taught gratis."

In 1811 Rev. Dr. Dowdall was appointed head master, and under his administration the school increased in numbers and reputation, but unfortunately the strain of having upwards of one hundred boys under his care unhinged his mind and he soon afterwards died. During the period of his insanity the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan acted as headmaster. He was a noted platform orator and controversial writer, but the role of head master being alien to his temperament, he resigned for the parish of Killyman, to which he was collated 24th August, 1830. Rev. John Richard Darley was then appointed, and he managed the school with great success till his appointment as Bishop of Kilmore. It was during his regime that John Nicholson spent four years of the most formative period of his life at Dungannon—1834 to December 1838.

One of the school's greatest headmasters was Rev. F. H. Ringwood, and it was just about the time of his appointment that the then Primate, Lord John George Beresford, built the Gymnasium and corridor, a stone tablet bearing the date, 1850, commemorates its foundation. Dr. Ringwood reigned for forty years and upwards, and on his retirement, R. F. Dill, M.A., was appointed in 1892. He held the headmastership till his appointment as headmaster of Foyle College, 1st January, 1911, when he was succeeded by the present head, R. W. Bingham, B.A.

The school was reorganised under the Education Endowment Act of 1885. As a result the property was divided between the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, and it was arranged that the share of the endowment given to the Protestants should be administered by a Committee, the majority of whom should be nominated by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. The new scheme came into effect in 1892.

During the year 1917, one of the boys, " Ted " Bingham by name, had the idea that the school should have a magazine, and the suggestion being approved of by the Head, in December of that year the first number of " R.S.D. " was issued, and still pursues its way forming a link between the school and former pupils who have passed out into the great world to take their part in the battle of life.

The Royal has seen pass through its portals many who in after years have carved their names deep in the annals of their country. To set down the long roll of those who have achieved distinction and added to the fame of " R.S.D." would be out of place in a work such as the present. A few representative names in the different professions must suffice. In the church, Right Rev. William King, Archbishop of Dublin ; Right Rev. George K. Dunlop, Bishop of Arizona ; in law, Right Hon. Hugh Law, Lord Chancellor of Ireland ; Lord Collins of Kensington, some time Master of the Rolls, and Lord of Appeal in Ordinary ; in medicine, Sir Lambert O. W. Beatty, M.D., F.R.C.P.I. ; A. C. O'Sullivan, S.F., T.C.D. ; in literature, W. F. Monypenny, the biographer of Disraeli ; but it was in the military line that the pupils of the school particularly distinguished themselves and General Sir William Olpherts, V.C., gained the nickname of " Hell-fire Jack," from his reckless bravery ; Brigadier-General John Nicholson, whose name and fame belong not only to India but the Empire. A later scholar of the old school, Rev. W. F. Marshall, LL.B., has celebrated his deeds in " Goordaspore," a ballad worthy of its subject, and worthy to stand beside the war poetry of F. H. Doyle, Macauley, and Cavalier Aytoun. He has also, as is most fit, celebrated " The Royal School, Dungannon," that ' old gray mother in dark Tyrone,' whose—

" Years are long but her heart is strong,
And her eyes like an eagle's still,
And she trains her brood as a mother should,
Till they hark to her wholesome will."

FLOREAT R.S.D.

CHAPTER XXII.
1822—1870.

Dungannon as a police centre ; erection of new barracks ; Constable Holden applies for permission to marry ; loses his rank ; the shots in the night ; Holden's flight ; the missing constable ; Holden's arrest, trial and execution.

There were various Acts of Parliament for regulating the police force from the days of the " Old Barnys " onwards. Of these the most important was the Act of 1822 which provided for the appointment of a Chief Constable for each barony, with a certain number of constables under him, and one Inspector General for each

province. Under this scheme Dungannon was Head Quarters for Ulster, with Major D'Arcy as Inspector General. In 1828 we find Sir Fredrick Steven occupying the position. Then in 1836 an Act was passed reorganising the force, principally the work of Thomas Drummond, Under Secretary for Ireland. This Act provided four principal depots for raising and training recruits—For Ulster, at Armagh under Captain, afterwards Colonel Roberts.

The present police barracks was erected in 1870, and following soon after the Fenian Rising scare of 1867—1868, owes its semi-castellated style to the endeavour of the authorities to combine both a defensible post and a barracks.

While still housed in the old barracks at Dungannon one of the most sensational occurrences took place in the whole history of the Irish Constabulary.

It was late on a raw, cold December night that the inhabitants of Dungannon were thrilled by the report that a police constable had been murdered. The rumour was but too true, and the events leading up to the most dramatic incident in Dungannon annals were as follows :—

In the year 1859 there was a force of thirteen police stationed in Dungannon, under the command of Sub-Inspector Mathew. This body was made up of twelve ordinary police and one mounted constable, named John Holden. On the 10th September, 1859, Holden, who had been stationed in Dungannon for twelve months, applied in ordinary course for permission to marry a local school teacher named Rose Ann M'Kernaghan. The application was favourably received and permission registered 15th September, for marriage to take place three months after application. During the ensuing interval rumours began to circulate which at length reached the ears of the authorities, who ordered an investigation, and Head Constable M'Gowan reported 1st November, 1859. On receipt of the Head Constable's report the Inspector General gave orders that Constable Holden was to be called on to a mit, or deny the truth of his marriage. After considerable hedging he admitted that he was the father of Rose Ann M'Kernaghan's baby, and that he had married her to save her from disgrace.

All this took time, but on Monday, 5th December, Holden was summoned to the Day-room, and in the presence of a few of the police it was intimated that in consequence of what had occurred in the interval, his application was refused and the authorities determined that he should be removed from Dungannon to Newtownstewart, also that he should be reduced from the rank of constable to sub-constable. The reduction was to be for six months, and he was to remove the next morning. The appellations of the different ranks of the police in 1860 differed from the terms to-day. A sub-

constable is now termed constable, and a constable, sergeant, while the Sub-Inspector is now District-Inspector.

Holden was appalled by what he considered the severity of his sentence and pleaded for leniency, but, although the local authorities were sympathetic, it was not in their power to interfere. The punishment appeared to have an unsettling effect on Holden's intellect, and he specially blamed Constable M'Clelland, known as "the black sergeant," and Sub-Inspector Mathew for his misfortune. There is no evidence to show that M'Clelland had any part in the matter, and Sub-Inspector Mathew, while obliged to carry out his duty, had done so in a manner sympathetic as possible towards Holden.

He had not openly given vent to his grudge against his fellow constable, and that night Holden and M'Clelland were seen about the hour of seven o'clock turning into Mr. Quain's gate. The Rev. William Quain was rector of Dungannon, and the purpose of the visit was to ask the reverend gentleman to use his influence to have the order modified or rescinded. Whatever the ostensible purpose it was never carried out. The rector was about to have his tea sometime about seven o'clock when he heard the sound of a shot somewhere in the neighbourhood, and after a short interval another, but apparently did not connect it with anything in his vicinity. Shortly after this Holden was seen returning alone in the direction of Dungannon. He proceeded to Gortmerron House, where Sub-Inspector Mathew was dining with Mr. Evans. Here he lay in wait in the avenue and when Mathew came up, attacked him with the butt of a pistol so fracturing his skull that his life for a time was despaired of. Some men passing by hearing the noise in the avenue, approached, on which Holden leaped over the wall and made his way back to town. This took place sometime close to eight o'clock. He then went to the stable in which his horse and that of the Sub-Inspector were kept, and after making some preparations, saddled the officer's horse and rode off across the country.

Some time about ten o'clock Constable Robert M'Clelland, known as "the black sergeant" because he wore a black moustache and had black hair, was missed and search parties went out to look for him. One of these parties found the body in Rev. Mr. Quain's avenue, with the head partly thrust under a drain pipe in an attempt at concealment. There were two bullet wounds in the body, one of them being between the eyes, and the front of the head had been brutally battered in.

Holden, who was not missed from the barracks till between ten and eleven o'clock, rode across the country to Monaghan Road

station, on the Dundalk and Enniskillen Railway. Here he put up for a few hours at a house and caught the morning train to Dundalk, leaving his horse behind. Meantime the hue-and-cry had gone out and Holden was arrested between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon in a Dundalk lodging house, where he had gone for a meal. The prisoner was brought back to Dungannon on Thursday, the market day, when the town was crowded and the excitement intense. In the interval between his commital and trial his devoted wife visited almost every town and village in Ulster collecting funds for his defence, raising in this manner £200 and upwards.

The trial took place at Omagh, before the Hon. Baron Hughes, and occupied almost two days, Thursday, July 26, and Friday, July 27, 1860. So great was the interest and excitement that the accommodation in the town was quite inadequate, and many of those present at the trial had to seek lodging in the neighbouring towns such as Fintona.

The prisoner's attorney was John Rea, of Belfast, then the most notable man of his profession in Ireland, and his leading Counsel Isaac Butt, Q.C., M.P., no less famous as an advocate, who had for his junior, Mr. Mehan. The different facts already related were proved in evidence, together with the fact that the bullets found in M'Clelland's body corresponded with those found in Holden's ammunition pouch, which held only eight, instead of the ten that it should have contained.

Prisoner's Counsel made a powerful appeal on his behalf, but the evidence was too strong, and the jury after an absence of an hour and a half, returned a verdict of "guilty," with an added recommendation that the prisoner's good conduct be taken into account.

When Baron Hughes assumed the black cap and was about to pronounce sentence, Holden interrupted with the request that as the jury were of opinion that he had shot M'Clelland, he wished to die in the same manner. To which, the judge replied that "it was utterly impossible." He was accordingly sentenced to be executed, 27th August, 1860. For this last event of his earthly life Holden was most fastidious about his apparel, and according to one account devoted as much attention to his toilet on that morning as if he were going to a marriage. When the fatal moment arrived he met his death bravely and fearlessly, but whatever he may have confided under the seal of the Confessional, no acknowledgment of his guilt reached the outer world.

It was in the same year, 1860, that Dungannon borough cemetery was opened, and the first person to be interred in it was John Bell, M.R.I.A., a noted local antiquary. He was a native of Scot-

land, born at Camelon, Stirlingshire, 1793. On the occasion of the meeting of the British Association at Belfast, in 1852, there was an exhibition of antiquities illustrative of Irish history, and by far the largest collection was that exhibited by Mr. Bell. After his death this fine collection was disposed of to the Scottish National Museum, Edinburgh, where it remains.

CHAPTER XXIII.
1871—1885.

Charges of partiality against Dungannon bench of magistrates; Government investigation; magistrates vindicated; Dungannon a military depot; parliamentary representation; Viceregal and Royal visits.

The county of Tyrone has its population more equally balanced in the matter of division between Protestants and Roman Catholics, than perhaps any other county in Ireland. This particularly applies to Dungannon, where party feeling in bygone days occasionally ran high. Arising out of this state of affairs there was an inquiry held at Dungannon on 20th June, 1871, and the following days regarding the truth of certain complaints of neglect and violation of duty preferred by John Lynch, constable, against Thomas Smyth, Esq., Sub-Inspector. At this inquiry Captain Ball, R.M., gave strong evidence to the effect that the Sub-Inspector and magistrates were in sympathy with the Orange party, and that there was partizanship exhibited in the Constabulary prosecutions in such cases. On this evidence becoming public the Roman Catholic party at once got up a memorial, John Hayden, a grocer and publican, of Dungannon, taking a principal part in the matter, which was ready for signing after service at Chapel on Sunday, 25th June, 1871. Meantime the Magistrates having also read Captain Ball's evidence wrote to the Lord Chancellor (Lord O'Hagan), on Saturday, 24th June, respectfully, but firmly demanding an inquiry, and that "Captain Ball should be directed to furnish a detailed statement of the facts on which he relies to substantiate the serious charges he has made."

After some correspondence between the Magistrates and the Government, the Commission of Inquiry was granted 31st July, 1871.

The Commission was opened in the Court-house, Dungannon, on Wednesday, 16th August, by Messrs. Exham and Coffey, Q.C.'s, and concluded August 24th (the eighth day).

Sergeant Armstrong was for the Magistrates, Mr. M'Laughlin for the memorialists, and M. J. Barry for Captain Ball. The last mentioned had been a prominent Young Irelander in his day, and was an accomplished writer, the well known Irish war song " O'Donnell Abu," being from his pen. He finished his career as a Dublin Police Magistrate.

The Dungannon Bench was composed of A. Mackenzie Lyle, Donaghmore House, Senior Magistrate ; C. Stanley, Thomas Hamilton, Ynyr H. Burges, A. L. Nicholson, Courtenay Newton, James G. Richardson, and Hon. W. Stuart Knox, M.P.

Captain Ball, R.M., after being examined by Mr. Barry, on cross-examination by Sergeant Armstrong, said :—" I did not at all mean in my evidence given in that Court [The Police Inquiry], or in this court of inquiry, to impute any corrupt partiality to any side, to any Magistrate individually, or to the magistrates collectively either." There were many other witnesses examined on both sides, but Captain Ball's answer as given completely knocked the bottom out of the main indictment against the magistrates.

The Commissioners in their finding acquit Captain Ball of intentional misconduct or misrepresentation, but express regret that his confusion of thought or ideas should have betrayed him into using language which plainly gave rise to misconception and unfortunate discussion, and go on to say " that there has not appeared in the evidence before us one fact, or particle of evidence upon the first branch of the inquiry to sustain the charge of Captain Ball . . ."

With regard to the Memorialists case they found " that unquestionably there were occasions for well founded terror and alarm in case of anniversary celebrations of the events of the first and twelfth of July . . . and are calculated to provoke and produce counter demonstrations, and thus lead to collisions and to seriously endanger the public peace." The Report further says " Roman Catholics have no confidence in the bench in hearing party cases . . ."

" No member of the bench is a Roman Catholic, and upon inquiry the Roman Catholic witnesses all agreed that not one of their co-religionists were qualified for the appointment. They at the same time expressed their opinion that all party cases should be dealt with by a resident magistrate, and that it was immaterial what his religion might be."

With regard to the local magistrates, these gentlemen were under the impression that where a collision between the two parties was likely to take place the time for intervention did not arrive until the parties had actually committed a breach of the peace. This view of the law the Commissioners thought it their duty to

state was erroneous, and that the magistrates had full power to prevent or suppress any demonstration or procession calculated to lead to a breach of the peace.

The legal costs of this affair to the Dungannon bench of magistrates was £400.

Dungannon was for many years the Depot of the Mid-Ulster Royal Field Artillery (Reserve). The Regiment was originally raised in 1855 at Charlemont, co. Armagh, as the Tyrone Artillery Militia ; two officers, viz., Captain Joseph Greer, and Captain George Waller Vesey being specially authorized in addition to an Adjutant to enrol volunteers.

The first enrolment was made on 28th May, 1855, the establishment (according to Militia Regulations) being made up of two Captains, two Lieutenants, two second Lieutenants, one Adjutant, one Surgeon, one Sergeant Major, one Quartermaster Sergeant, 6 Sergeants, 2 Drummers, and 187 Privates (gunners).

In May, 1868, the Headquarters of the Regiment was transferred from Charlemont Fort to Dungannon, where it remained until disbanded.

Under some army scheme of mobilisation the Militia Unit was embodied for service at Fort Tregantle, Cornwall, from 3rd May to 6th November, 1900. The name of the regiment was changed from "The Mid-Ulster Royal Garrison Artillery," to the "Mid-Ulster Royal Field Artillery (Reserve)," on 9th August, 1908.

Lieut.-Colonel William Browne, of the Mid-Ulster Garrison Artillery, was promoted to that rank on 29th September, 1906, to command, and retained this position until the Reserve Unit was disbanded on 20th October, 1909.

Various attacks were made by the Liberal party on the borough of Dungannon, but the Knox interest was too powerful to permit of any hope of success. Thus at the General Election of 1841 John Falls stood as a candidate against Viscount Northland, and polled 52 votes against the Viscount's 72. This proved a sufficient damper to prevent any opposition at the succeeding General Election of 1847, but between that and 1852 there were several changes in the Knox family representation which will be found duly set out in the Appendix giving the list of Dungannon M.P.'s. However, at the General Election of 1852, the Liberals again had a candidate in the field in the person of William Holmes, who was only able to poll 22 votes against Major, afterwards Colonel W. Stuart Knox's 100. Presuming, as we may, that practically every qualified voter in the borough registered his vote, this gives an electorate of about 130 persons in a town of close on 4,000 inhabitants. Clearly there was still room for electoral reform if the member for the constituency was in any way to represent the wishes of the people. These de-

feats damped the ardour of the opposition and it was not till the General Election of 1874 that the Liberals put up a candidate in the person of Thomas A. Dickson, of Miltown House, Dungannon, who was returned by 121 votes to 109 for Colonel Knox. At the General Election of 1880 it was a neck and neck race, the voting being, Dickson, 128; Knox, 126. Mr. Thomas A. Dickson was subsequently unseated on petition, but as Colonel Knox did not claim the seat, a new election took place in Dungannon on 25th June, 1880. Mr. Thomas A. Dickson's son, Mr. James Dickson, who had come of age just two months previously, was nominated in the Liberal interest against Colonel W. Stuart Knox.

Mr. James Dickson was returned by 132 votes against 128, and he became the youngest member of the House of Commons, in which he sat till 1885, when on the Redistribution Act coming into force, Dungannon ceased to be a Parliamentary Borough and four members were allotted to the county.

Notwithstanding the warmth of party politics in Dungannon when the Lord Lieutenant and Countess Cowper paid a week-end visit, at the end of November, 1881, to the Earl and Countess of Ranfurly, at Dungannon Park, the town was lavishly decorated, both Conservatives and Liberals uniting to honour Her Majesty's representative. According to the "Morning News," (November 28) some of the extreme Home Rule party to mark the occasion "had their shutters up—a grim joke—for liberty was dead."

If the inhabitants of Dungannon extended a warm greeting to semi-royalty in 1881, it was nothing to the enthusiasm exhibited when the Prince and Princess of Wales, on their way to visit Baronscourt, passed through Dungannon, 27th April, 1885. Everywhere in view of the railway station was lavishly decorated. At the end of the station an immense double arch spanning the four lines of rails was tastefully decorated with evergreens and flowers, each span of the arch being surmounted with a crown formed of evergreens whilst the Royal Standard, Union Jack, Danish flag and others, were displayed on and around the arches. The footbridge at the other end of the platform was also transformed into a triumphal arch. Lord Ranfurly was the life and soul of the decoration committee and unsparing in his personal exertions up till the very last moment. Conspicuously displayed mottos were "Welcome to the town of the Volunteers," and "Cead milé failte."

The royal train steams into Dungannon station greeted by the cheers of swarming thousands of the people for miles around. The band crashes out "God Save the King," the military present arms as the royal party step out on the platform. Loyal addresses are presented, graciously received and replied to, then the train once more steams slowly out of the station, passing the cattle beach,

where over 1,000 school children were massed singing the National Anthem and waving their holiday flags. Last but not least in a large field beyond the saw mills the Orangemen, some 3,000 in number, were assembled in full regalia, with bands and drums and fifes of each lodge, then as the royal train slowed and crept by every flag was dipped to the ground, the salute being repeatedly acknowledged by the Prince, Princess, and Prince Albert Victor.

At night there was a display of fireworks and illuminations, the boys and girls letting off squibs and fireworks to their heart's content. Then after a hectic day " the tumult and the shouting dies," the crowds depart, and Dungannon returns once more to every-day life.

. . . .

The placid market town of to-day has seen many vicissitudes. It is a far cry from the rattle and clank of Cuculain's chariot as he came across from Emain Macha to visit the dun of his friend Genánn, perched on its lofty height, to the swift whirr of the motor car. Yet they still live and have a place amongst us, these heroic fighting men, still is preserved the memory of their forays, their fights and their feasts. Perchance in years to come when Science has attained to still further heights we shall be able to recapture, faint and far it may be, the clank of chariots and the clash of brazen shields, mingled with the war chaunt of the Red Branch Knights as they are borne to battle, and in imagination they eye may still see like stars in the dawning day, one by one go out their battle standards as they flit across the plain. Then silence until the lordly O'Neills have passed from their northern stronghold to give dynasts to Tirowen, and High Kings to Ireland : they too have passed, these lordly O'Neills, Aileach is but a heap of stones, and Genánn's castled hill but a wasted place in the twilight with grass through a split hearthstone, where " the old proud place of Niall's race, shall know that name no more."

Comes the Plantation, with Chichester, Elizabeth's ruthless fighting captain, lord of the manor and the town, followed by the glimse of a discredited king in his last struggle for realm and crown, ere the perfume of the white rose was quenched in the Boyne water.

One more picture and the last. It is the fifteenth day of February, and Dungannon is filled with armed men—not brawlers or rebels these, but armed patriots determined to wrest from corrupt politicians the constitutional rights too long witheld from the nation. In ordered rank they march to the appointed meeting place, and there pass the resolutions that gave to Ireland her Constitution, enshrined in their country's history the men of '82, and forever conferred on Dungannon the proud title of

The Town of the Volunteers.

APPENDIX I.

The conclusion of the history of Dungannon affords an opportunity to make acknowledgement and return thanks for the facilities afforded to the writer in his researches for the purpose of this work, to D. A. Chart, Esq., LL.D., Deputy Keeper, Public Records, Northern Ireland; Robin Flower, Esq., Manuscript Department; British Museum; James C. Stevenson, Esq., for preparing the plan of Dungannon; to Lieut.-Colonel William Brown, J.P., for particulars of the Mid-Ulster Artillery, and to Tenison A. Groves, Esq., for placing at the author's disposal, not only everything bearing on the subject in his valuable collection of notes and copies of manuscripts, in many cases no longer in existence, but for generously transcribing from the originals in T.C.D., the Dungannon depositions relating to 1641. These, apart from any difference of opinion regarding their historical value, afford a most interesting view of the state of the town and the local conditions then prevailing. W. J. Beatty, Esq., is also thanked for placing freely at the writer's disposal his knowledge of the local history and topography of his native town. As the regular parliamentary lists in **Liber Munerum** stop at 1769, the Earl of Belmore's "Parliamentary Memoirs of Tyrone," have been most valuable in giving the names and dates of the returns of members for the borough of Dungannon. Having these the biographical notes were a simple matter. For first hand information regarding the last two elections for the borough the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Major Dickson

MUSTER ROLL OF ULSTER, 1630.

Co. Tyrone. Dungannon Barony.

The Lord Viscount Chichester, of his town of Dungannon, and the rest of his servitors lands, being 2,000 acres—his men and arms. (British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, No. 4, 770.)

1.	Francis Jackson,	sword and snaphance.
2.	James Ellot,	sword only.
3.	Alexander Beard,	,, ,,
4.	Robert Horson	,, ,,
5.	John Ellott	,, ,,
6.	John Scott	sword and musket
7.	Thomas Fisher	sword only
8.	Anthony Fowler	,, ,,
9.	Christopher Warson	,, ,,
10.	Robert Toby	,, ,,
11.	Jeffry Joams	,, ,,
12.	George Pikes,	no arms.
13.	John Godfrey	,, ,,
14.	Morris Cooper	,, ,,
15.	Wm. Bread (or Breid),	,, ,,
16.	Giles Smith	,, ,,
17.	Christopher Wilson	,, ,,
18.	Tho. Gray	,, ,,
19.	Daniel Barnes,	,, ,,
20.	John M'Vaeigh,	,, ,,
21.	John Sepobaton,	,, ,,
22.	John Shart,	,, ,,
23.	Robert Sorlow,	,, ,,
24.	John Walton	,, ,,
25.	George Smith	,, ,,
26.	Richard Smith	,, ,,
27.	Humphry Godfry,	,, ,,
28.	John Beard,	,, ,,
29.	Art Ally	,, ,,
30.	Hector Swinfield,	,, ,,
*31.	George Capanell,	,, ,,

*Recte, George Carpmell. George Carpmell appears as a juror on an Inquisition held at Dungannon, 16th September, 1639.

APPENDIX II.

Dungannon Depositions relating to the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1641. Copied from the originals in T.C.D.

Dep. 1641. Tyrone p. 30 Vol F. 3.10.

Anne Bullenbroke late of Dungannon, in the County of Tyrone, the relict of John Bullenbroke, master of the Free School of that county, deceased, sworn and examined upon the Holy Evangelists, Deposeth and Saith—

That upon Saturday, the 23rd day of October, 1641, she and her said husband were robbed and stript and deprived of goods, chattels and other personal estate to the value of £700 and upwards, which she and her said husband were a long time lawfully possessed of until the time aforesaid when they were forcibly robbed and turned out of all their said goods, chattels and personal estate by Sir Phelim Roe O'Neill and other his ungodly and rebellious followers, then and yet rebels of that county, by whom they were several times stript, robbed and left comfortless to the open air in which miserable estate they continued so long that her said husband and one child at length died through hunger and cold.

And further saith that the rebels Randall M'Donnall, Patrick M'Donnall, and their companies whose names she knoweth not did commit divers outrages and cruelties And in particular they, or some of them murdered one Mr. Mather, minister of Donamore.

Mr. Blythe, minister of Dungannon, William Odber, another minister and about 12 more English Protestants near Dungannon aforesaid.

And further saith that it was a general report among the rebels at that time That they would leave neither Scotch nor English in Ireland. And when that was done the King of Spain should be their King.

And one that came from Dublin and was a messenger for the said Sir Phelim O'Neill about the very beginning of the rebellion, publicly reported that the Spaniards were landed and had taken Dublin.

And it was also a general report amongst the rebels that when they had destroyed all the English and Scottish in Ireland they would go with their forces into England to help the King.

And further saith that her said husband to save his life from the rebels did for ten weeks together shelter and hide himself in the wild woods, where he lived most miserably and poorly.

And saith also that it was an ordinary report amongst the rebels that they had the Queen's Commission for what they did ; And if they had not risen up in arms as they did the Scots would have shortly risen up against them and either have enforce them to go to the Church or would have killed them all, or to that effect.

Jun 22 Dec. 1642.

Randall Adams Hen Brereton prd Anne Bullingbroke [Endorsed] Tyrone-Anne Bullingbroke Jun 22 Dec. 1642—Int end.

Dep. 1641 Tyrone p 38 vol F 3. 10.

George Burne, late of Dungannon in Co. of Tyrone, miller, sworn and examined saith—That on or about the 23rd of October, 1641, when the rebellion began the rebels Randall M'Donnell (who was after by Sir Phelim O'Neill, Kt. made Governor of Dungannon), Patrick Modder O'Donnell. of the parish of Donnamore in the said county, gent., (who were heretofore solicitors to the Lord Caulfield and both captains and ringleaders of rebels) did with a great number of rude and barbarous Irish, invade and forcibly surprize the castle and town of Dungannon aforesaid and then and there robbed all the English and other Protestants in that town and amongst the rest forcibly deprived and robbed him this deponent of his household goods, cattle, horses, corn, hay, turf, due debts and all other his goods.—And since that time they burned his mills and house to his utter undoing.

And when the rebels had robbed him of his goods and that he attempted to go away with his wife and children (she being great with child of the third) this depon-

ent and they were enforced to stay by the said Sir Phelim and to work for them and so restrained that they durst not go away for nine months or thereabouts.

During the time of which he abode there he observed these ensuing passages by or amongst the rebels and others thereabouts.

First one Mr. Mather the minister of Dungannon was murdered by one of his own servants who was an Irishman and after a trooper to the said Sir Phelim O'Neill. These the rebellious soldiers under the command of the said Randall M'Donnell murdered Mr. Blyth, minister of Dungannon and a Justice of the Peace, and one Mr. Clever M'Gurlough, Francis Spark, Mr. Alymer, one Mr. Hastinge, minister, John Humble, Mr. Winsore, and one Ralph, servant to Mrs. Clotworthy, one William De Lapp, one Mr. Pitchforke, Mr. Barbeck and his brother, Mr. Barfield, and one Scotchwoman, all murdered of this deponents knowledge in or near Dungannon aforesaid. About the first or second week of Lent next after the said rebellion began this deponent and many other of the English Protestants that were there restrained from going away were all forced to go into the Sessions House at Dungannon amongst a multitude of the Irish rebels when and where they were constrained to hear a sermon preached by an Irish Friar who took his text out of the story of Judith, how she cut off Holofernes head. Relating how she by fasting and prayer prevailed so she had that liberty to cut off his head, and, even as she was about to express how and in what manner she did it part of the floor of the upper chamber where they were fell down with a great number of the rebels many whereof were then and there slain by the fall and others so bruised that they died quickly after.—Howbeit the mercy and providence of God were such that neither this deponent nor any other of the English (then forced thither) received any hurt at all nor fell down with the rest. And the Friar that preached catching hold of a rail that was nailed close to the wall, hung there by the arms and with much difficulty, escaped.

And quickly after, such was the malicious falsehood and design of the rebels surviving that they to colour their disaster of their slain friends and to put a blemish upon the English Protestants feigned a report (which they published in many places) That the Protestants had blown them up with gunpowder. And thereupon (by the reports and confessions of many of themselves) they fell upon the Protestants in the Country thereabouts and slew a great number of them.

And further saith that after the fall of the said house one Margaret Hoggy who had been the deponent's servant protested earnestly unto him (and he believed her report to be true, the rather because it was seconded by many others of credit)

That they saw many of the Protestants that were murdered and lay dead in ditches within a mile and a half of Dungannon and that they saw also divers sucking children lie there dead on their mother's breasts who as they said were left alive when the mothers were slain and after by cold and want of food there died as they were left to starve.—This deponent further saith that he heard it confessed and publickly talked and complained of by the Popish Priest of the Parish of Dungannon and some of the native Irish themselves (that were more merciful than the rest).—

That two young cowboys within the Parish of Tullaoge about 3 or 4 miles from Dungannon had at several times murdered and drowned in a little lough 36 Protestant women and children.—

And both those Irish and others often said that they saw these murdered bodies afterwards swimming above the water.

And saith that at Donnamore some of the rebels murdered one Mr. Allen an English Protestant and at that time one of the barbarous rebels first ravished the said Mr. Allen's wife before her husband's face as the rest were murdering him and instantly after they murdered her also.—

In the parish of Killaman one John O'Neale (who was cousin to Sir Phelim O'Neal, and one of his captains) and his rebellious soldiers murdered and butchered at one time 22 Protestants, women and children. All or most of which murdered persons were his own servants and such as he had promised to protect.—

And some of them were these, viz.—Mrs. Gudlane and her daughter and 3 children, and one that was a sadler, another that was a glover, some others were sellers of Aquavita, malsters, thrashers, and of other professions.—And the said John at other times murdered a great number of the Protestants (and amongst the rest) he hanged Mr. Bromley Taylor, of Armagh, gent., upon a Carr at Charlemont.—And this deponent hath often heard the rebels at Dungannon call the said

Sir Phelim O'Neil, King of Ireland, and say also that the English laws were grievous and intolerable And that the Spaniards would enter England and they would go over and take Scotland so that the Protestants should have no refuge nor anyway left to them.—

Jur. 12 January 1643 Signed pd B Georgii Burne Hen. Jones Hen Brereton.

Dep. 1641 Tyrone p 40 vol F 3.10.

The examination of Captain John Perkins of Dungannon in the Co. Tyrone, aged 73 years, taken 8th day of April, 1643,

before His Highness Commission by virtue of a Commission under the great seal of Ireland. The examinant being duly sworn upon the holy Evangelists saith—That he being in his Castle at Dungannon, the 22nd October, 1641, being Friday, about six of the clock at night Patrick Modder O'Donnelly with his brother and Priest O'Skeaghe and one other in their company of the Donnellys, came to the examinants' house and desired a warrant from the examinant to search for some sheep which they pretended to be stolen from the said Patrick Modder whereupon the examinant being a Justice of the Peace admitted them and being about to write a warrant according to their desire one of the aforenamed went to the gate and [admitted] Mr. Randall M'Donnell and 18 men with him who rushing into his hall with skeans presented to his breast and arrested him by authority as they said from the Parliament. And possessed themselves of all his arms and all the goods in his house, viz.—horses, sheep, household stuff, money and plate to the value of £1,500. And afterwards the said Patrick Modder told the examinant that Sir Phelim O'Neale would be there before midnight and that before the next day at ten of the clock all the towns and forts in Ireland would be theirs.—

And accordingly about midnight Sir Phelim O'Neil came to his house and smilingly said, Ah you old fox have I caught you ? I am gladder to have you than my Lord Caulfield whom I left safe enough at Charlemont.— Whereupon this examt. demanded of Sir Phelim what he meant, who answered, " Fear not your life, For this night all the kingdom of Ireland is our own and all the towns and forts are ours and we shall be free from the thraldom we have so long endured ; Whereunto this examt. replied, We shall have a second O'Dogherty of you who lost his head a year after the burning of Derry and killing the Governor. At which answer of this examt. Sir Phelim was angry and presently commanded his men to go to the examt.'s stable and saddle his horses. Whereon Sir Phelim and his company rode and went that night and surprised the Castle of Mountjoy after which Sir Phelim returned to Dungannon, and presently came to him many of his confederates of the Neals, viz. Brian M'Art oge O'Neale, M'Rirlagh Leynagh of Slewtrim, gent., Art oge M'Art M'Rory O'Neale of the Barony of the Omey ; Shane O'Neale of the same with all the sept of the Neales of the said barony of the Omey and Strabane who then murdered Mr. John Madder a minister, in their way to Dungannon, and after their coming to Dungannon they by direction from Sir Phelim pulled [down] all the . . . of the Session House and Gaol and then some of them murdered Mr. Roger Blyth the minister there to whom Sir Phelim had given a particular protection and many other of the inhabitants of that town, notwithstanding that Sir Phelim had protected them and promised to leave the town and the inhabitants thereof safe and to this examt's. care upon consideration of a £1,000 upon the Lordship of Dungannon.—

Afterwards the said Sir Phelim committed John Allen, provost of Dungannon to Nicholas Combe, seneschal of the Manor, and this examt. close prisoners for a week during which time Sir Phelim and his company plundered and killed 60 families in this town and Lordship. And after made one Bartholomew Bath Captain and provost in the town to govern the town according to Sir Phelim's pleasure, thereby abrogating his majestie's power and breaking the protection made to the examinate in behalf of the town.—Presently after Sir Phelim and his confederates leaving the examt. with strong guards in his house they went abroad and pillaged and killed all round about in the country save some few to whom he gave protections which parties so protected were notwithstanding afterwards killed and plundered. And still pursuing his outrages burnt and spoiled the country where the British inhabited, styled himself Phelim Tohan or Totan, which being interpreted is burning or smoking Phelim. which he hath heard sung in several rhymes (during his imprisonment) and at which the said hearers did much delight.—

About a month after Sir Phelim returned to Dungannon with Colonel Richard Plunket, Colonel Con O'Neale, Roger Moore, father Paul O'Neale, father Thomas Fleming, the Lord of Slane's brother and many other friars and Jesuits and father Neal O'Neale who went 13 times from Sir Phelim to Brussels in half a year, as he confessed to this examt.—Which Neale O'Neale brought a Bull or Letter from the Pope which this examt. saw to create Sir Phelim Prince of Ulster which title the said Sir Phelim at the hill of Tulloghoige accepted according to the Irish manner of the creation of the great O'Neals. And from thence forward he was called his excellency and Lord and his meat served with drum and trumpet.—after which Sir Phelim came to this examt. and told him he had authority from the Supreme Council of Ireland to make him Master of the Ordnance of Ireland and that he next should have the co nmand of 1,000 foot and 100 horse and three pounds a day. But the examt. refused to accept that of him and desired Sir Phelim either to enlarge him or cut off his head for he would never draw his sword against the King. Whereupon Sir Phelim told this examt. he had a Commission from his Majesty for what they did with power to confer the place on him to which this examt. answered when he saw that Commission he would then give an answer, to which Sir Phelim answered, It would not be long before he saw it.—After which Sir Phelim with the rest before mentione of his adherents went and burnt Strabane and all the Londonderry Plantations and murdered, burnt, and spoiled all in their way, which, when they had done they returned to Dungannon about Christmas after where this examt. was prisoner and brought with him the Lady of Strabane.

The earl of Antrim then posting by Dungannon the said Sir Phelim leaving the Lady at Dungannon followed the earl of Antrim and had conference with him, after which conference Sir Phelim came to Dungannon to the said Lady and carried her and this examinate to his house at Kinard [Caledon] where this examt. informed himself of the murder and killing of Toby, Lord Caulfield which was at Sir Phelim O'Neale's house aforesaid.—The said Lord Caulfield being in the custody of Neale M'Kenna, chief of that name and one Captain Neyle modder O'Neale who brought there the said Lord Caulfield from Charlemont to be conveyed whither this examt. knoweth not.—And saith the Lord Caulfield was shot in the back by one of the Hughs servant and fosterer to the said Sir Phelim O'Neile.—

And this examt. having stayed 2 or 3 days at Kinard by Sir Phelim he sent with the Lady to Sir George Hamilton.—

And this examt. saith—That during his being atKinard he was persuaded by some Jesuits, friars and priests to renounce his religion, but upon conference the Jesuits and the rest finding they could not persuade him he was designed to be hanged which was not done they considering better of it.—presently after Sir Phelim hearing that Owen Roe O'Neile was landed at Castledoe in Tirconnell he sent this examt. back to prison to Dungannon where he remained many days.—And after Sir Phelim intending the taking of the town of Drogheda in February 1641 [2] the said town being then besieged by the power of the M'Mahons, the Relys, and Roger Moore and their confederates of the Pale and the counties of Louth and Meath. This examt. was with a troop of horse carried to Armagh where he remained 2 or 3 days.—In which time this examt. going only to visit Nicholas Sympson, Esq., one of the knights of the shire of co. of Monaghan he had like to be hanged for so doing.—From Armagh this examt. was carried by Sir Phelim to Drogheda . . . Sir Phelim settled himself at Bewly and joined with the other forces that were at the leaguer before where the examt. was promised to see his Majesties' Commission and receive his command as before he hath declared.—

The examt. further saith—That being at Bewly still demanded the sight of the King's Commission. He was assured by Sir Phelim and his company That the Lords of the Pale would meet on the other side of the water whither not long after this examt. in Sir Phelim's company went in a boat over the water where they met the Viscount Gormanstown, the Lord Viscount Netterbille, the Lord Baron of Trimelestown, the Lord of Louth, father Thomas Fleming, Mr. Plunket of Bewly, Dowdall of Killaly and his brother, Jo Stanley of Morlstown, Esq., Corronel Richard Plunket, Mr. Barnevill of Pahasker and many other gent. Jesuits and friars, where Sir Phelim and they had a Con [ference] for the taking of the town and it was there averred that the friars within would make a passage to let them in by a breach in the wall, at which conference Sir Phelim O'Neill and the aforesaid Lords and gents of the Pale

wished this examt. to take the charge of the Ordnance and to surprize the town.—

The examt.'s Answer was he was promised to see the King's Commission, but they would not or could not shew him any.—But often they conveyed him to Bewly with a guard of men, shot and pikes, and forced him to plant the Ordnance, but before the forceing Sir Phelim willed this examt. to go to Mass for that his Majesty went to Mass saying that no towns in Ireland stood against them but Drogheda and Dublin and that all Ireland would be theirs, the examt. replied to him his Majesty might command his body but not his soul.—Presently after this examt. was commanded to advance with the Ordnance soldiers and gunners to Drogheda being on a Saturday night which this examt. (not daring to do otherwise) came near to the walls of Drogheda where Sir Phelim and they of his adherents advanced with their scaling ladders and pent houses to the said walls but by the defendants within being beaten off and failing of their purpose were compelled to fall down to the water again to stop the shipping that was then coming in for the reiief of Drogheda.—

Yet notwithstanding the guns that this examt. was constrained to bring thither did the shipping little or no harm but that (God be thanked) they relieved the town.—

And the examt. for that he did not use means to destroy the said shipping as he might have done as they the said Sir Phelim and his adherents alledged, was like to have been hanged by them. The examt. saith also that Sir Phelim O'Neill next day going to Tulloghollon within 2 miles of Drogheda town there in order with his army for the further annoying of the town of Drogheda he intended .....was by the honourable defendants of Drogheda assaulted beaten and driven away, upon which Sir Phelim gave directions that this examt. should be conveyed away with the guns he was formerly guarded with and the ordnance to Dundalk which was performed.—

And this examt. coming in company with the ordnance to Dundalk Sir Phelim and such broken company as he had left to the number of 2 or 3,000 men came thither and in his company the Lord of Louth and the gentry of the county of Louth.—

Whilst Sir Phelim and company were in Dundalk, the Governor and commanders of Drogheda pursuing them came to Ardee and there took the town and defeated their forces there, and further the said Governor and Commanders marched forward to Dundalk at whose approach the said Sir Phelim and the rest sent this examt. to a Castle and to take notice where the ordnance was to be placed for defence of the town whereupon this examt. gave relation to them that he conceived them to be 2,000 foot besides horse whereas to his own knowledge they were not 800.—

This examt. directed the ordnance to be planted so they could in no ways avail the defendants nor do any harm to the assailants.—

And the Lord of Louth at that time demanded of this examt. what he thought —Whether the Governor and his company were able to take the town, the examt. told him and some others by they could not be resisted and that out of doubt the town would be taken, so that presently the gentry of the County of Louth together with the Lords of Louth and many of the inhabitants of the town ran away and left the town to Sir Phelim and his forces with whose flight some fower hours after this examt. acquainted Sir Phelim, Who being amazed thereat and in great fear commanded his horses to be made ready and took this examt. with him and fled and left his ordnance never discharging the same and the town well victualled—

From thence flying he fled to the town of Armagh where after shortly he began his bloody massacres by commanding Manus O'Cane to gather all the Protestants that were left thereabouts together to conduct them to Coleraine, but before they were a days journey from him they were all murdered to the number of at least 300.—

Turlogh O'Neale, brother to the said Sir Phelim O'Neyle being a principal actor in the murders and especially caused one Bartholomew Taylor, an Englishman's son, that was godson to this examt. to be hanged before his face not suffering him to speak to this examt.—

And also put to death Lieut. Cowell's son, Lieut. James Maxwell, and Hugh Echlin, Esq., and his son, these were so put to death by special directions from Sir Phelim-and Turlogh his brother, notwithstanding they were formerly protected by the said Sir Phelim and his brother Tirlogh, which Tirlogh was made a Governor by them of his county of Armagh, which Governor gathered together the chiefest of the aged people of Armagh as namely Mr. Starkey the schoolmaster of Armagh, aged 80 years and more, two of his daughters, Mr. Griffin, the curate and many more

and pretended to send them to Coleraine but at Charlemont he gave directions to murder them which was done accordingly.—

And presently his brother and he with his adherents maliciously set on fire the goodly Cathedral Church of Armagh and the whole town of Armagh and murdered and drowned them to the number of 500 persons young and old upon intelligence His Majesty's forces were advanced to the Newry, and not only that there was by them burnt the whole country round about notwithstanding Sir Phelim O'Neale had under his hand covenanted with the town of Armagh that no hurt should have been done to them either in lives goods or estate.

And further this examt. saith that in the parish of Killaman near adjoining to Charlemont there were cruelly murdered by Shane O'Neile, captain of the castle of Charlemont under Sir Phelim O'Neyle to the number of 48 families having been protected by Sir Phelim three quarters of a year and more.—

And the examt. further saith as he hath heard from the Irish themselves that in the parish and in the county of Armagh there were murdered most part of the British inhabitants to a number not to be related.—

Whereupon this examt. being committed close prisoner saw out of the window of his chamber the English Army commanded by the Lord Conway and Montgomery set down before Charlemont where had they remained but two days longer they had taken it, they being destitute of munition within; and within a month or six weeks after Owen M'Art M'Baron O'Neel came thither and his forces which came out of Flanders with Donell O'Caein who was himself made general of Ulster and the said Donel O'Caen his Lieutenant General which said Donel within a while after was slain by some of Sir Robert Stewart his forces with many more.—

And afterwards the said Owen M'Art stopped the murdering of many women and children and caused Charlemont to be fortified where he with Sir Phelimy O'Neel one Tirlough M'Brian M'Henry oge O'Neele governor of the same which said Tirlagh caused many to be put to death inhumanly and with the consent of father Gregerie.—And one captain Henry O'Hughe commanded this examt. to be murdered in his bed but on captain Neale Modder O'Neale pretended the same but advising them to put him to death outside Charlemont which within a week after they took this examt. out of the Castle of Charlemont where he there was imprisoned. Mrs. Elizabeth Clotworthy, a widow, then prisoner with her two daughters and son, who gave this examt. a winding sheet under his arm which he carried to the place of execution, but by God's Providence the General Owen M'Art being newly lighted caused this examt. to be stayed and so sent him to prison again where he remained until he was released by virtue of the Cessation the 25th October then following.—

During which time the earl of Antrim, his brother called Alexander came thither, the Lord of Evaugh, Munke [monk] Citly, Munke Cryly, Russell of Learrell, Michael Dunne, Hachy O'Neile, Art oge O'Neile, Captain Tirlogh O'Neil, Tirlogh Groom O'Quin, Patrick modder O'Donnelly, Neil M'Kena of the Troughe, Art M'Con M'Shan O'Neile, Rory M'Guire, with many of the chief of the O'Hanlons, the O'Relys (Reillys) and M'Mahons, with many friars and Jesuits who had many meetings to settle and plant their laws and to make Sheriffs, Marshals and Justices, which was all done by directions from the Supreme Council from Kilkenny as they said.—

Jurat 8 Martii 1643. John Perkins Hen Jones Hen Brereton.

Endorsed—Tirone—Captain John Perkins—Jurd. 8 Martii 1643. Ind Ex

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Dep 1641. Tyrone, page 51. F.3.10

Hugh Jones, carpenter, his examination 23rd February, 1652, taken upon oath

Who being an Inhabitant in Dungannon when ye Rebellion began saith.—

That about 20 days after, Capt. Randall M'Connell (who is dead), Lieut. Owen Oge M'Donnell, Neal Roe M'Cormack and Brian M'Art Mulcreeare and several others of the Irish party took out of the said town Mr. Blythe, the Minister, Mr. Clement Cleuer, Francis Sparke, Robert Gorly, Will Delap, Richard Houghton, Will Osger, and several other English Inhabitants thereabouts and gave out that they should be conveyed to Dundalk, and about a mile from the Town, upon the Highway towards Charlemont, at Gortmarron all the said Englishmen were murdered by the said Irish and the women stript.—

And being demanded if any of the said women present there, be living, saith Will Delap's wife is living at Drogheda, being now wife to Francis Jackson there.—

And he further saith that there was fifty seven English men killed shortly after, near Charlemont in one place, near the Highway betwixt Charlemont and Dungannon, which were Inhabitants in and about Armagh and Loughgall, and this examt. saw their corps and reckoned them the next day after; Which murder he was informed was done by Shan O'Neill who was also present in Charlemont at that time.—

Which murder, he was informed was done by Shan O'Neill and his men then in Charlemont under Sir Phelim O'Neill who was also present in Charlemont under at that time (as Captain Perkins informed this examinate) when they were sent out to be killed.—And he saith that Mr. Stanway and other gentlemen were then murdered amongst them.—

And he further saith that he, being kept alive to make a drawbridge at Dungannon and to do other work for them, the day after Mr. Blythe and the rest were killed, took the more boldness to acquaint Sir Phelim O'Neel therewith who seemed sorry for it.—

And Mr. Patt modder O'Donnelly and divers others being then present he heard the said Patt say—He wished all the shoemakers, saddlers, and rascals of the English nation in the same case, murdered as those of Dungannon were. And shortly after, He, having one Mr. Hugh Allen prisoner with him at Castle-Caulfield, the said Patrick modder sent him away towards Toome with one Patt Duffe O'Loghran and others to convoy him, And that he was murdered within a mile of the said Castle Caulfield as this examinate was then informed.—

Jur. Geo Rawdon. [not signed]

[Endorsed] Hugh Jones his examination. Feb 1652 versus Lieut. Owen oge M'Donel, Neale Roe M'Cormack, Brian M'Art Mulcrue, Shane O'Neale, Pat Duffe O'Loghran, Pat modder O'Donnelly.

Dep 1641. Tyrone p62 Vol F.3.10.

*The Information of Nicholas Combe sometime of Dungannon in the co. Tyrone gent., given in upon oath the 4th of June, 1653, before Colonel Thomas Herbert and James Standish, Esq., Members of the High Court of Justice sitting at Dublin.—

Informeth and upon his oath deposeth that he hath often heard one Turlogh groome O'Quin of Moneygore in the Co. of Tyrone confess that he was an actor in the first raising of the horrid rebellion in Ireland and that he with his servants and followers took the Castle of Crew als. Castle-stewart and burned the same, and likewise that he and his followers, or some of them surprized and took the Garrison Fort and Castle of Mountjoy upon the 23rd October, 1641, in which Garrison he confessed there was one Williams and Margery, his wife, with old Sergeant Roe killed not in the town or Garrison but led forth by them and massacred. Justifying the fact and alledging it was well done because they gave ill language to Sir Phelim O'Neele, but whether the said murder was committed by the advice, procurement, or command of the said Turlough groom O'Quin or with his privity and consent this informant is not able to depose, or whether the said Turlogh groome had any hand in executing of one Brownloe Taylor in Charlemont he is not able to inform, or how he used one Frances, the wife of one John Morris (being the daughter if Mr. Roger Blyth of Dongannon, who was murdered by the soldiers) whom he took from her husband and kept as a prisoner for the space of 11 or 12 months at the least, she can best evidence but this informant knoweth not, and more he informeth not.—

sworn the 4th of June, 1653, at Dublin before us. Tho Herbert James Standish

Nich Combe [in margin]

A. Let Mr. Nich Harrison. Captain Robert Stewart of Toome, be examined concerning Turlough O'Quin.

B. Let Mrs. Frances Morrisse who liveth about Antrim or Templepatrick be examined to the last particular.

[Indorsed] The Information of Nich. Combe concerning Turlough groom O'Quin.

(*Printed in "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century," Vol I. pp. 341-2.)

Dep. 1641. Tyrone. p.78 vol F.3.10.

The Information of Nicholas Combe sometime of Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, gent. given in upon oath the 4th of June, 1653, before Col. Th. Herbert, James Standish, John Gay, and Thomas Dauncer, Esqrs., Members of the High Court of Justice sitting at Dublin.

Informeth and upon his corporal oath deposeth that being surprized by Sir Phelim O'Neyle upon Saturday early in the morning being the 23rd October, 1641, and kept in restraint within the Castle of Dungannon Upon the Monday or Tuesday following after the rising of that horrid rebellion (but which of the two days this informant cannot now well remember) as he was walking in the Court of the said Castle he saw one Patrick modder O'Donelly of Ballinward in the co. of Tyrone, sometime servant to my Lord Caulfield, deceased, and afterwards to the Lady Caulfield, marching at the head of a foot company in a warlike posture, which he led right up right before the Castle and there presented them unto the said Sir Phelim O'Neil—which was the first company that offered in arms for his aid and assistance.—And he further deposeth that the said Patrick modder O'Donelly and Randolph M'Fardorragh M'Donell were the men that upon Friday night the 22nd October, 1641, surprized the person of Captain John Perkins and took the Castle of Dungannon.—And he likewise informeth that about four weeks after the rising at which this informant was a prisoner in the town of Dungannon aforesaid (but not in the Castle) there came orders from Sir Phelim O'Neill to put all the English out of Dungannon with a pretence to convoy them from garrison untill they should be brought to some English garrison.

Howbeit one Randolph M'Donnell being Governor of the said town and one Gillegroome M'Donnell his son commanding as Captain under his father took Mr. Roger Blyth minister of Dungannon, with his family, Mr. Jo. Bullenbrooke and his family, Clement Francis Sparker and divers others of the English, and sent them away with a convoy of their soldiers, which convoy within half a mile of the said town murdered the said Mr. Blyth with the rest that were in his company and stript all the women;

Upon the rumour whereof most of the English that were amongst them endeavoured to make what possible means they could to avoid their bloody fury for preservation of their own lives of which this informant was one who notwithstanding he was taken and stript yet he was preserved and that night he was brought to Castlecaulfield Mill where dwelt one Thomas [blank in original] an Englishman near adjoining to the Castle of Castlecaulfield, in which Castle the said Patrick modder O'Donnelly then resided and kept a garrison there.—

At the coming into which Mill this informant then found (with the said Thomas and his family).

One Mr. Hugh Allen, late of Donnaghmore with his wife and child who all the time of tumult and stir had sheltered themselves (after they were plundered) in the said Mill.

But the next morning there grew a very hot contest amongst the Donnellys whither Mr. Allen or this informant should be put out of the garrison or be protected and at last it was concluded that the said informant with his wife should be protected and that the said Mr. Allen with his wife should be put out of the garrison.—Whereupon they were presently sent away with some of the said Pat Modder's soldiers towards Donnaghmore, But within less than a mile of Castlecaulfield the said Mr. Allen was murdered by one Pat Modder O'Loghran, one of the convoy aforesaid, who, ever after by the rest of the soldiers was called Mr. Allen.—But that the said Patrick Modder O'Donnelly intentionally sent them out of purpose to have them destroyed this informant is not able to depose, for that he hath often heard the said Pat Modder O'Donnelly with great regret bewail the death of the said Mr. Allen, neither yet did this informant ever hear that the said Pat Modder O'Donnelly had his hands in any other murder; yet what became of old Jo: Bellwood and Gregory and Stephen Bellwood his sons and of Walter Jones who was coachman to the late Lord Caulfield, who, he, the said Pat Modder O'Donnelly protected for more than six months to do him service but were never after seen alive, the said Pat Modder best knows. But this informant to that purpose can depose nothing.—

And he further informeth not.—Nich Combe sworn the 4th day of June, 1653, at Dublin before us Tho Herbert, James Standish, Jo: Gay, Thomas Dauncer.

Query whether Tho Samford, Lift. to Pat Modder O'Donnelly be living and if to had—then to examine upon this particular point.—

[Endorsed] The Information of Mr. Nicholas Combe concerning Patrick Modder O'Donelly and others.

Dep. 1641. Co. Antrim p 177 vol F.3.9.

The examination of John Ellot of Kilulta, Co. Antrim, aged 30 years or thereabouts, taken this 3rd May, 1653, Who living in Dungannon at the beginning of the rebellion was a prisoner with the Irish at that time.—

And one Randal garve M'Donel, then Governor of Dungannon, sent Mr. Blythe [the], Francis Sparks, Robert Gurly, Mr. Cliver and others whose name he does not remember, with a part of his company out of the town, which party murdered the above named persons within a mile of the said town and this examinate after they returned heard them tell that they murdered the above men.—And further saith that he knew one of the soldiers named Gilaspuck M'Gorgineghue but doth not remember any other that he heard confess the said murder. And being asked if he knew of any Protestants killed at that time saith that Pat modder O'Donelly was sending one Hugh Allen from Castlecaulfield to Toome. Pat modder O'Loghran meeting him by the way killed him, And said that he heard amongst them that Pat modder O'Donelly hearing of it sent for the said Pat Loghran but could not find him by reason that he afterwards fled away. John X Ellot his mark.

The examination of John Ellot versus

Randall garve M'Donell Pat modder O'Loghran.

APPENDIX III.

Letter from Brigadier General Pusignan to M. Le Comte D'Avaux, French Ambassador, giving a striking picture of the state of affairs prevailing in the Irish army.

Dungannon, April 6, 1689.

They [the Irish government] had not kept their word of anything they had promised me, not even on the establishment of the post horses which I had asked for so often. On arriving here I find it necessary to send [ ] this officer to prove that of the nine pieces of cannon at Charlemont some are good and some are bad. They had not a limber or carriage to bring them to the battle [field], and that in order to get two made by the workmen which I brought from Dublin, in waiting for those of Points, they asked me for twelve days to make them, and I do not know if they will do them well, being unable to be there to make them work, or M. Doe who is very busy as I am, because there is not a smith in this country, that is to say here and at Charlemont, but they give him to understand that they will not fail to provide food. We have already plenty of provisions, but of war munitions I have not found any on my route, not even for twenty miles all round. At Charlemont there are only twenty balls for each piece of cannon, each ball weighing fourteen or fifteen pounds, and only six out of every seven fit the cannon. You will see, sir, that it is not worth the trouble to bring these canon to the war [the seige of Derry], however my blacksmiths are working with the two carriages which I have ordered from them. Be good enough to think of me ; The men of M. de Pointis will oblige me very much if you could send them to me, and in order to save time carriages for the cannon, if there be any ready made. I have seen the regiments of Bellew, of Gormanstown, and of Lord Louth—they have not even a sword and have very few muskets. The companys are stronger in pikes than they are in muskets, of which very few are fit for use. Lastly, I could not exaggerate what is missing in this country. For the last two days I have eaten only very bad butter on oat bread because my cart with provisions has been left behind, and your cart has broken

down twice on account of the axle giving way, and all these people here do not know the food which we like, and still less, they don't know how to prepare it for us."

Negotiations De M. Le Comte
De'Avaux en Irlande—1689—90.

Pusignan was killed in what is known as the battle of Pennyburn mill, when the garrison of Derry made a sortie. Lieut. General Maumont being slain in a hand-to hand encounter by Captain Adam Murray, the hero of the siege, in the same fight.

APPENDIX IV.

Members of Parliament for the borough of Dungannon. 1613—1885.

Parliament of 1613.

May 2. Sir Garrett Moore, Knt., Mellifont, Co. Louth.
Sir Hugh Pollerde (or Pollard) Knt.

Sir Garrett Moore was the second son of Sir Edward Moore, Knt., to whose estate he succeeded on the death of his eldest brother. He was created Baron Moore of Mellifont, 15th February, 1615, and Viscount Moore, of Drogheda, 7th February, 1621.

Sir Hugh Pollerde was a native of Devonshire, and probably came over with Sir Arthur Chichester who was also a native of that county. In 1608 he had a grant from the King of the exclusive privilege of planting woods and making charcoal in the province of Munster, then in 1610 he had a grant of a licence to sell starch in Leinster, Munster, Connaught and Drogheda town for twenty-one years. He had still another grant from the King in 1619 of the duties on the importation of tobacco and tobacco pipes for seven years, at a rent of 20/- English. From these licences it would seem that Sir Hugh was engaged in commerce. He married Dorothy, seventh daughter of Sir John, and sister of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1st Baron of Belfast (vide Lodge I. p 317) where Sir Hugh is described as of King's Nimpton [Devon] Knt. The connection accounts for his representing Dungannon.

Parliament of 1634.

June 17. Sir Faithfull Fortescue, Knt.
John Perkins, Esq., Dungannon.

Sir Faithfull Fortescue was a nephew of Sir Arthur Chichester. He was born about 1576 and in 1605 followed his uncle to Ireland. With the powerful backing of the newly made Lord Deputy, he soon received command of a regiment of foot, and obtained many grants of lands in the counties of Antrim and Down, as well as the lands of Dromiskin, Co. Louth. He sat in the Irish Parliament of 1613 for the borough of Charlemont, and in 1634 was returned for both the borough of Dungannon and the county of Armagh; and in 1639 again for Armagh. He was governor of Drogheda at the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion but afterwards resigned his command and Sir Henry Tichborne was sent to succeed him. He was a staunch royalist and had an adventurous time during the civil war, but lived on to an advanced age, dying in 1666. He was ancestor of the noble families of Clermont and Carlingford.

Captain John Perkins. According to Morrin's Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Car. I., 569, John Perkins was appointed Provost-Marshal of Ulster on 1st March, 1630, and at the outbreak of the civil war was constable of the castle of Dungannon. See Chapter XIV., and 1641 Depositions, Appendix II. He was a connexion of the Caulfield family.

Parliament of 1639.

February 27. Hon. John Chichester, Athlone, Roscommon.
Thomas Madden, Esq., Dublin.
1641. June 5. Sir Phelim O'Neill, of Kinard (Caledon, Co. Tyrone).

John Chichester, Member for Dungannon in 1639, was the nephew of Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, being the second son of his brother Edward, who succeeded to his estates. John Chichester died in 1648 leaving a family, of whom his eldest son, Arthur, succeeded his uncle as second Earl of Donegall in 1674-5.

Thomas Madden, the junior member for Dungannon, was of Baggotsrath near Dublin. He died 30th January, 1640-1, when the vacancy was filled up by the election, or we should say more correctly, the appointment of Sir Phelim O'Neill. Thomas Madden's son, John, married in 1635, Elizabeth Waterhouse, eldest daughter of Charles Waterhouse, of Manor Waterhouse, Co. Fermanagh. From him was descended the well-known Rev. Dr. Samuel Madden of Manor Waterhouse, F.T.C.D., the founder of the "Madden Premium," from whom descend the two families of Madden of Hilton, Co. Monaghan, and Madden of Roslea, co. Fermanagh.

Sir Phelim O'Neill of Kinard, who succeeded to the vacancy for the borough of Dungannon, caused by the death of Thomas Madden, was heir to his grandfather Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, who, along with his eldest son, Turlogh, was slain at Kilodonnell, 5th June, 1608, when assisting the English forces to put down Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's rebellion. Sir Phelim was expelled for his part in the rebellion, 17th November, 1641, and afterwards executed by the Cromwellian Government, 5th March, 1653 (new style).

Parliament of 1661.

1661. April 12. Sir Arthur Chichester, Knt., Dungannon.
Sir Thomas Bramhall, Rathmullyan, Meath.

Sir Arthur Chichester, the senior member for Dungannon, has already been noticed under the Parliament of 1639.

Sir Thomas Bramhall, created a baronet on 31st May, 1662, was the younger son of John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Primate. He was also elected for Tuam, but decided to represent Dungannon.

Parliament of 1689.

1689. May 7. Arthur O'Neil, Esq., of Ballygawley.
Patrick Donnelly, Esq., of Dungannon.

Arthur O'Neil. From the name and also from his place of residence, it is practically certain that he was the son of Turlogh O'Neill, who was son of Sir Arthur O'Neill (who died 28th October, 1600) son of Turlogh Lynagh. Sir Arthur had a grant in 1612 of two proportions consisting of about forty-eight townlands, his residence being at Castletown near Carnteel, now Castletown Bawn. Turlogh O'Neill was a colonel in the rebel army of 1641, for which he forfeited his estate which extended from Minterburn territory to within a short distance of Ballygawley. His son, Arthur, doubtless named after his grandfather, would, like many others of the deposed Irish gentry, hang about the neighbourhood in the hope of a turn of fortune's wheel restoring his property.

Patrick Donnelly is probably the same person as the Patrick Donnelly who was one of the twelve Burgesses appointed when the Corporation of Dungannon was reconstructed by Tirconnell, 22nd March, 1688.

Parliament of 1692.

1692. September 17. Sir Robert Staples, Bart., Lissan.
John Hamilton, Esq., Callidon.

Sir Robert Staples was of the well-known Staples family of Lissan, near Cookstown. Sir Robert succeeded his father as second baronet, and married Mary, eldest daughter of John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam. Sir Robert Staples died 23rd Nov-

ember, 1714. **Liber Munerum** gives the name under this date as "Sir Thomas."

John Hamilton, of Caledon, the second member for Dungannon, was the eldest son of William Hamilton, of Lough Currim, one of the 1649 debenturers who received the greater portion of Sir Phelim O'Neill's estate in partial settlement of the arrears of pay due to him and his brother, Captain John Hamilton. Further particulars regarding the Hamilton family will be found in the writer's "History of Minterburn and town of Caledon."

Parliament of 1695.

Begun 27th August, 1695. Concluded 14th June, 1699.
Thomas Knox, Esq., Dungannon.
John Hamilton, Esq., Callidon.

An account of Thomas Knox, the new proprietor of the borough and manor of Dungannon, will be found in Chapter XVII. of this history.

John Hamilton's memoir has been already given under Parliament of 1692. In the Parliament of 1703-1713 he sat for the borough of Augher.

Parliament of 1703.

Began 21st September, 1703. Concluded 6th May, 1713.
Thomas Knox, Esq., Dungannon, re-elected.
Oliver St. George, Esq. (afterwards Rt. Hon.).

The junior member for Dungannon was son-in-law of Thomas Knox, having married Mary, his eldest daughter and co-heiress. He was also returned to the same parliament for Carrick, co. Leitrim, and elected to serve for that borough.

1703. October 4. Edward Brice Esq., vice St. George for Carrick.

Edward Brice, who took the place vacated by Mr. St. George, was apparently a connexion of his colleague, Mr. Knox, whose wife, Mary, was daughter of Robert Brice, of Kilroot, who in addition to this daughter had three sons, Edward, Hugh, and Randall. After the Revolution, Randall was M.P. for Lisburn. Accordingly Lord Belmore (Parlt. Memoirs) Edward Brice, M.P. for Dungannon, was son of Randal Brice, which would make him a nephew, but he may have been Edward, brother of Mary Knox, which would make him brother-in-law to the senior member. (See Reid's Hist. Pres. Church in Ireland I. p. 203, for note on this family, by Dr. Killen, who was a descendant of the original Edward Brice.) At any rate, the patronage was kept in the Knox family.

Parliament of 1713.

Began 25th November, 1713. Concluded 1st August, 1714.
1713. October 28. Thomas Knox, Esq., Re-elected for Dungannon.
Oliver St. George, Esq., Re-elected for Dungannon.

Parliament of 1715.

Began 12th November, 1715. Concluded 11th June, 1727.
Rt. Hon. Thomas Knox, Re-elected for Dungannon.
Rt. Hon. Oliver St. George, Re-elected for Dungannon.

During the interval between the 1713 and 1715 elections the two gentlemen have been made Privy Councillors.

Parliament of 1727.

Began 28th November, 1727. Concluded 25th October, 1760.
1727. September 30. Rt. Hon. Oliver St. George.
Charles Echlin, Esq.
1731. November 5. Thomas Knox, Esq., Dungannon, vice St. George deceased.
1755. October 21. Thomas Knox, the younger, Esqr., Dungannon, vice Echlin, deceased.

Charles Echlin was the eldest son of John Echlin, of Ardquin, co. Down, and great-grandson of Dr. Robert Echlin, Bishop of Down and Connor. Charles Echlin married in 1709, Anne, daughter of Rt. Hon. Thomas Knox, but had no issue by her.

Thomas Knox, who succeeded St. George, was the only son of John Knox, brother of the Rt. Hon. Thomas Knox (whose memoir has been given) and heir to his uncle.

Thomas Knox, junior, who was sworn in 1st November, 1755, was the eldest son of Thomas Knox, the subject of the previous memoir, by Hester Echlin, daughter of John Echlin of Ardquin. He succeeded his father and was created Baron Welles in 1781, and Viscount Northland in 1791.

Parliament of 1761.

Began 22nd October. Concluded 28th May, 1768.
Thomas Knox, senior, Esq., re-elected.
Thomas Knox, junior, Esq., re-elected.

Parliament of 1769.

Began 17th October, 1769. Concluded 5th April, 1776.
Thomas Knox, senior, Esq., re-elected.
Thomas Knox, junior, Esq., re-elected.
John Knox, Esq., in place of Thomas Knox, the elder, deceased.

Mr. Thomas Knox, the elder, died according to Lodge, on the 25th March, 1769, but the electoral return was made 6th July, 1768, for Dungannon, and the new parliament was summoned to meet on 1st August, 1768, but was postponed by several prorogations to the 17th October, 1769.

Parliament of 1776.

Began 18th June, 1776. Concluded 25th July, 1783.
Charles O'Hara Esq.
Thomas Knox Esq.
Rt. Hon. William Eden, in place of Thomas Knox created Baron Welles.

Charles O'Hara was presumably M.P. for co. Sligo from 1783 till the Union, and in the Imperial Parliament until 1826; and who was of Annaghmore, co. Sligo. He figures in Barrington's "Red List," as having voted against the Union in 1799 and 1800. His political opinions could hardly have commended themselves to Baron Welles.

Rt. Hon. William Eden in 1780, accompanied his old friend and schoolfellow, the Earl of Carlisle, when he went to Ireland as Viceroy, as Chief Secretary and was accommodated with a seat in the Irish House of Commons on the promotion of Thomas Knox as Baron Welles. When in Ireland he carried the limited measure of free trade which was then passed, and also established the National Bank of Ireland on the lines of the Bank of England. He resigned his office with Lord Carlisle, in April, 1782.

Parliament of 1783.

Began 14th October, 1783. Concluded 8th April, 1790.
Rt. Hon. Edmund Sexton Pery.
Hon. Thomas Knox.
Lorenzo Moore, Esq., in place of Edmund Sexton Pery, who made his election for Limerick city.

Edmund Sexton Pery, born 1719, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, 1771—1785, when on his retirement from that office he was elevated to the peerage as Viscount Pery, of Newtown-Pery, in the county of Limerick, with a pension of £3,000 a year in recognition of his long and faithful services. This eminent statesman and patriot was the most distinguished representative Dungannon ever possessed, and it would be but graceful and fitting if the Urban Council restored "Perry-street" to its proper and original spelling "Pery-street."

Hon. Thomas Knox, heir to the estate, succeeded his father as Viscount Northland, 1818. Afterwards first Earl of Ranfurly.

Lorenzo Moore, who succeeded Pery, sat in the Parliament of 1798, for Ardfert borough, co. Kerry, being elected to succeed Mr. Robert Day, who became a Justice of the King's Bench. In 1800, being then Ranger of the Curragh he voted for the union

Parliament of 1790.

Began 20th May, 1790. Concluded 11th July, 1797.
Hon. John Knox.
Hon. George Knox.
James Verner, Esqr., in place of John Knox who accepted the Office of Escheator of Munster.

The Hon. Thomas Knox, who, in the last Parliament represented the borough of Dungannon, made his election to this Parliament as M.P. for co. Tyrone.

John Knox was the second son of Thomas, Viscount Northland. He was an officer in the army and probably resigned his seat in order to take up military duties. Further particulars under the heading of the Parliament of 1796—1802.

Hon. George Knox, was brother of John Knox, and fifth son of Lord Northland. In the Parliament of 1798 he sat for Dublin University, which in 1795 had conferred on him the degree of LL.D. (honoris causa), and in 1799 voted against the Union, for which being a Commissioner of Revenue he was dismissed. He continued, however, to represent the University till the dissolution of the Imperial Parliament in October 1806. On 28th January, 1805, he married his cousin, Anne Staples. Mrs. Calvert in her diary (edited by Mrs. Warenne Blake under the title of " An Irish Beauty of the Regency,"), was the following note :—" 1806. March. Poor George Knox has lost his office, one of the Secretaries of State for Ireland. They have given it to Mr. Parnell, who is married to Lady Caroline Dawson, Lord Portarlington's eldest sister. " Henry Parnell, Bart., was M.P. for Dundee, and afterwards first Lord Congleton. He succeeded to the title on the death of his brother John in 1812. The third brother, William Parnell, was of Avondale, co. Wicklow.

A new writ was ordered for Dungannon on 22nd February, 1794. James Verner, who was returned for Dungannon in place of John Knox, was the elder son of David Verner, Esq., by Elizabeth Crossle, by whom he had a large family. His younger brother, William, succeeded to the Verner estates, was Lieut. Colonel in the army and M.P. for county Armagh. James Verner was known as the " Prince of Orange." Those interested in the founding of the Verner family will find further particulars in the Historical MSS. Commission publication of the "Charlemont Correspondence," or in the present writer's " History of Charlemont Fort and Borough."

Parliament of 1798.

Began 9th January, 1798. Concluded 31st December, 1800.
Hon. Charles Knox.
James Verner, Esq.
Richard Fortescue, Sharkey, Esq., who accepted the office of Escheator of Munster.
Hon. John Knox, in place of Sharkey.

The Hon. Charles Knox was the sixth son of Viscount Northland. He retired from politics becoming afterwards Archdeacon of Armagh, and Rector of the parishes of Aghaloo and Carnteel. His son became, first, Bishop of Down, then Lord Primate.

Richard Fortescue Sharkey was evidently a stop-gap in the interval between the resignation of Hon. Charles Knox in 1799, and the Hon. John Knox resuming his seat for the borough. On Sharkey's acceptance of the office of Escheator of Munster, a new writ was ordered for Dungannon in his room, 18th July, 1800.

The Hon. John Knox in place of Sharkey. Major-General the Hon. John Knox had already sat for part of the Parliament of 1790. As the Irish House of Commons only sat four times after the writ was ordered, parliament being prorogued on 2nd August, his name does not appear on the Journals. He was this year appointed Governor General and Commander in Chief of the island of Jamaica. He sailed in the ship Babet for his destination, and neither ship or crew was ever heard of again. In " An Irish Beauty of the Regency," edited by Mrs. Warrenne Blake, there is reproduced a portrait of Major General Knox, showing a man with a fine, strong, handsome face. There is in the Knox family a superstition that one member will be drowned every generation.

Parliament of Great Britain, 1796.

First Parliament of the United Kingdom, 1801; dissolved, 29th June, 1802.

John Knox, Esq.

1801. November 12. Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart., vice John Knox, deceased.

By the Act of Union Dungannon was reduced to a single member constituency. Although John Knox was lost on his passage to Jamaica, in the latter part of the year 1800, news travelled slowly in those days, and his family still clung to the hope that the ship was not lost, hence his nomination for the family borough.

Sir Charles Hamilton was of The Mount, County Middlesex, K.C.B., Rear Admiral of the Red. He was connected with the Abercorn family.

Parliament of 1802.

1802. July 12. George Knox, Esq.

1803. June 9. Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart., vice George Knox, Esq., who elected to serve for Trinity College.

Hon. George Knox already noticed under the Parliament of 1790, and the accommodating Sir Charles Hamilton under that of 1796-1802.

Parliament of 1806.

Summoned to meet 15th December, 1806. Dissolved 29th April, 1807.

1806. November 11. George Knox, Esq.

1807. January 31. James Hamilton, commonly called Lord Hamilton, vice George Knox, who elected to serve for the University of Dublin.

Viscount Hamilton was the eldest son of James, ninth Earl and first Marquess of Abercorn. He died 27th May, 1814, leaving issue.

Parliament of 1807.

Summoned to meet 22nd June, 1807. Dissolved 29th September, 1812.

1807. May 23. Claud Hamilton, commonly called Lord Claud Hamilton.

1809. March 8. Claud Scott, Esq., of the City of London, vice Lord Claud Hamilton, deceased.

Lord Claud Hamilton was the youngest son of the first Marquess of Abercorn, and brother of his predecessor in the representation of the borough of Dungannon. He died unmarried in 1808.

Claud Scott, Esq. Supposed to be the London banker of that name and of Lytchet Minster, county Devon.

Parliament of 1812.

Summoned to meet 24th November, 1812. Dissolved 10th June, 1818.

1812. October 17. George Peter Holford, Esq.

George Peter was second son of Peter Holford, a Master in Chancery. He was of Westonbirt, county Gloucester.

Parliament of 1818.

Summoned to meet 4th August, 1818. Dissolved 29th February, 1820.

1818. June 25. Thomas Knox, Esq.

He became the Hon. Thomas Knox, 5th December, when his father succeeded to the Viscountcy, and succeeded his father as second Earl of Ranfurly, in 1840.

Parliament of 1820.

Summoned to meet 21st April, 1820. Dissolved 2nd June, 1826.

1820. March 13. Hon. Thomas Knox re-elected.

Parliament of 1836.

Summoned to meet 25th July, 1826. Dissolved 24th July, 1830.

1830. August 8. Hon. Thomas Knox re-elected.

Parliament of 1831.

Summoned to meet 14th June, 1831. Dissolved 3rd December, 1832.

(This was the last unreformed Parliament.)

1831. May 9. John James Knox, Esq.

Hon. John James Knox, Lieut.-Colonel in the army, born 3rd April, 1790, was fourth son of the first Earl of Ranfurly, died 1856.

Parliament of 1833.

Summoned to meet 29th June, 1833. Dissolved 29th December, 1834.

1832. December 12. John James Knox, re-elected. He was also re-elected for the Parliament of 1835, which was dissolved 17th July, 1837, when he retired.

Parliament of 1837.

Summoned to meet 11th September, 1837. Dissolved 23rd June, 1841.

1837. August 2. Thomas Knox, Esq., commonly called Viscount Northland.

1838. June 9. Thomas Knox, Esq., vice Viscount Northland, who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, Co. Bucks.

Viscount Northland had sat before as Thomas Knox, Esq, and the Hon. Thomas Knox from 1818 to 1831.

Thomas Knox, Esq., who succeeded Viscount Northland, was Lord Northland's eldest son, and subsequently succeeded to the title of Earl of Ranfurly, 21st March, 1858, but only enjoyed the title a couple of months, dying 20th May, same year.

Parliament of 1841.

Summoned to meet 19th August, 1841. Dissolved 23rd July, 1847.

1841. July 3. Thomas Knox, Esq., commonly called Viscount Northland. He was also returned for the new Parliament of 1847, which was dissolved 1st July, 1852.

1850. August 3. Thomas Knox, Esq., commonly called Viscount Northland, accepted the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds.

1851. February 14. William Stuart Knox, Esq., elected in the room of Viscount Northland. Lord Northland had been obliged to resign his seat for the borough of Dungannon owing to continued bad health, when his brother William took his place William Stuart Knox attained the rank of Major in the army and was afterwards Honorary Colonel of the Mid-Ulster Royal Garrison Artillery (Militia). He was born in 1826, and died 1899.

Parliament of 1852.

Summoned to meet 20th August, 1852. Dissolved 21st March, 1857.

1852. July 13. William Stuart Knox, re-elected.

There were contests for both county and borough. For Dungannon the figures were :—

Hon Major Knox	100
William Holmes	22

After this Colonel Knox continued to represent the borough of Dungannon until 1874.

Parliament of 1874.

Summoned to meet 5th March 1874. Dissolved 24th March, 1880.

1874. February 6. Thomas A. Dickson, Miltown, House, Dungannon, elected.

The figures were :—

Thomas A. Dickson	(Liberal)	121.
W. Stuart Knox	(Conservative)	109.

Parliament of 1880.

Election held in Dungannon, 2nd April, 1880.

Thomas A. Dickson	128.
William Stuart Knox	126.

Mr. Dickson was subsequently unseated on petition.

By-election held in Dungannon, 25th June, 1880, for vacant seat.

James Dickson	132.
William Stuart Knox	128.

Mr. Thomas A. Dickson, of Miltown House, Dungannon, was a Linen Manufacturer, Miltown Factory occupying the site of John Falls's Distillery of an earlier day. In the library of Miltown House there is an Election address of John Falls dated, Miltown, Dungannon, 22nd June, 1841. After the passing of Irish Land Act in 1881, Mr. E. F. Litton, member for Tyrone County, was appointed one of the Commissioners under the Act, thus causing a vacancy in the representation of the County. For this seat Mr. Thomas A. Dickson (Liberal); Colonel W. Stuart Knox (Conservative); and Rev. Harold Rylett (Home Ruler), were nominated.

The election was held on 8th September, 1881, when Mr. Thomas A. Dickson was returned by a majority of 84 votes over Colonel Knox, Rev. Harold Rylett being an "also ran," only polling 907 votes. Thus both father and son sat in the House of Commons together until 1885, when on the Redistribution Act coming into force Dungannon ceased to be a Parliamentary Borough. Mr. Thomas A. Dickson also represented St. Stephen's Green Division of Dublin, 1888-1892. He was created a Member of the Irish Privy Council in 1893, and died in 1909. Mr. James Dickson, the last Parliamentary representative of the Borough of Dungannon, still preserves a keen interest in affairs consequent on his youthful political experiences, and to him the writer is indebted for the details of those stirring times.

APPENDIX V.

DUNGANNON PRINTING AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The earliest Dungannon printer of whom we have any knowledge is William Canning, who printed a treatise on gunnery in 1797. This was a considerable undertaking for a printer in those days as the book ran to 160 pp. octavo. He was evidently a man of enterprise, as in the year 1800 he issued "The Dungannon Weekly Magazine" of which only incomplete sets of numbers for the years 1800 and 1801 are known to exist roughly bound together in a volume in the Library of M'Crea-Magee College, Londonderry.

This venture in journalism was, towards the close of the year 1806 followed by the project of a newspaper, in furtherance of which there was a "Crown Bond," No. 2577, signed by William Canning, printer, the Hon. Thomas Knox and Rev. Wm. Jones Armstrong, all of Dungannon town, County Tyrone, that said William Canning who is to be owner and publisher of the "Ulster Chronicle" newspaper, printed at his house in Dungannon shall pay advertisement duty.

This was followed by another Crown Bond, No. 1731, signed 31 December, 1806, by the same parties "that said William Canning who is about to become printer and publisher of the 'Ulster Chronicle' newspaper, to be printed at Dungannon, shall pay any damages for libel."

William Canning must have died early in the year 1820, as there is a "Crown Bond, No. 4537, signed 3 April, 1820, by Lydia Canning, Mary Canning, Leander Richardson, Lewis Richardson and Ann Carson Higgins, all of Dungannon, John Goad of Longfield and William Jones Brown of Tulligan, all of County Tyrone, that said Cannings and Richardsons pay advertisement duty on the "Ulster Chronicle and Dungannon Advertiser."

Crown Bond, 4538, same date and persons for libel.

We here find that the paper is progressing as it has got a sub-title, and in this bond we get the first mention of the Richardson family in connection with printing in Dungannon, and Mr. Alec Richardson has in his printing office two framed small posters, dated respectively July 13th and July 20th, 1820.

In the year 1821 there was still another "Crown Bond No. 5084, signed by Lydia Canning of Longfield, County Tyrone, Jn Goad of Longfield, Joseph M'Cord of Drumillart and William Douglas of Dungannon, all County Tyrone, and Jn Goad of Dublin city, that said Lydia Canning and Jn Goad pay advertisement duty on "Ulster Chronicle."

Bond No. 5085 same date and parties, to pay any libel in same.

The notice in foregoing bond is the first we have of William Douglas in connection with Dungannon printing, and in the "New Commercial Directory" published in Derry, 1840, the only Dungannon printer given is William Douglas, Market Square.

After Lewis Richardson's connection with the "Ulster Chronicle" there is a blank so far as this name is concerned for many years, except that in Pigot's Directory 1826-27 we find Lewis Richardson, book-binder, Perry-street. There was a Lewis Richardson who served his time to the printing trade probably in the "forties" or

"fifties" of the nineteenth century, in the town of Newry and afterwards started as a printer on his own account in the town of Magherafelt. He was a very ingenious man, and even before stereotype cameinto use, had invented a crude form of it. In addition to his job printing he also printed juvenile schoolbooks with rough wood-cuts The printing was done on an old wooden press. His son Alexander served his apprenticeship with James Burns, Newry, after which he settled in Liverpool, where he got married, but after some years, the place not agreeing with his health, under medical advice he returned to Ireland, and in conjunction with his brother William started printing in Dungannon in 1867, as W. & A. Richardson. William only remained a short time in Dungannon until he joined the staff of the "Belfast News-Letter." In addition to the printing Alex. Richardson added stationery and fancy goods, and about the year 1870 started a weekly newspaper, "The Dungannon Express," but from lack of support it ceased publication after running a few months. My informant distinctly remembers the newspaper heading which was made by Eglinton of London. Some time about 1880 the title of the firm became Richardson & Sons, under which it still continues.

In 1880 "The Tyrone Courier" was issued by A. J. Matthews, and continued until 1892 when it passed into the hands of John D. Crockett, from whom it was taken over at the end of 1895 by M'Ivor & Co., with Mr. J. C. Simpson looking after the financial side of the business.

Crockett after severing his connection with the "Courier" started the "Ulster Star," in 1895, which was published in Dungannon but printed in Portadown. It had only a brief existence.

M'Ivor & Co. finding a difficulty in carrying on withdrew from the business, which was taken over by Mr. J. C. Simpson, in 1897, who traded as "The Tyrone Printing Co." and after an uphill fight by it's present editor, it was turned from an almost derelict proposition into the present flourishing concern.

During the ownership of Crockett and M'Ivor the "Courier" got into very low water which caused a rival paper to be started, the first number of the "Dungannon News" being issued from Cookstown, 6 July, 1893, and it continued publication until its amalgamation with the "Tyrone Courier" in 1917, when the firm was incorporated as a private Limited Liability Co.

Dungannon, however, had still a second newspaper, as the "Dungannon Democrat and Nationalist Weekly" was founded in 1913 by John Skeffington, solicitor. Mr. Skeffington in common with many other successful lawyers, had been connected with the press before entering the legal profession.

The bibliography which follows has been made as exhaustive as possible, but owing to no regular file copies being preserved there must be many items of Dungannon printing left unrecorded.

In compiling the following list the writer wishes to express his indebtedness to Dr. John S. Crone, M.R.I.A. and to E. R. M'C. Dix, Esq., M.R.I.A., for permission to use the lists of Dungannon printing published in the "Irish Book Lover," volumes IV., V. and VIII., and in the "Ulster Journal of Archaeology (new series), volumes VII and IX. Mr. Dix has also added further to his kindness by checking the bibliographic portion. Mr. J. C. Simpson and Mr. Alec Richardson are also thanked for their kind assistance in compiling the bibliography of Dungannon printing in the present century.

1797. A New Treatise of Gunnery in theory and practice, explained and demonstrated from the laws of gravitation and motion, showing the manner of ascertaining all necessary requisites of the Art by sundry methods never before published, being the most extensive in theory, and the best adapted to practise of any book of the kind now existing, by John Hagan, Teacher of Mathematics. (William Canning) 8vo. pp. 160.

Vide Letter of "W., Belfast," in "**Tyrone Constitution** of 15th May, 1891

1798. A Letter to his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, in which is vindicated the Principles and Conduct of Orangemen, 8vo. 10 pp. + 1 blank leaf (= pp. 11 and 12). With

Truth. Being a **short** Answer to a **Libellous** Pamphlet; signed W. C. Lindsay, Captain Fort-Edward Cavalry. W. Canning. 8vo. 12 pp.; title

leaf (+ pp. 13 and 14) = pp. 14 to 24.
The reply is signed "James Brown," Yoeman.
[E. R. M'C. Dix].

1799. County Tyrone General Masonic Committee List of Sub-Committees, Resolutions, etc. A large Broadside single sheet, printed on one side only. Date 1st July. [Vide reprint, W. Canning]
[John J. Marshall].

1799. A Sermon preached at Bray [Brigh, Co. Tyrone] before the Orangemen of Killyman, Stewartstown, Cookstown, Pomeroy and Coagh Districts. On the First day of July O.S. being the Anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. The Revd. Thomas M'Kay, M.A., Minister of the Gospel at Bray [Brigh]. (Psalm CXII, 6) (William Canning) 8vo. pp. 24. Sigs. A. in 8 and B in 4. In paper wrapper (7⅛ x 5).
[M'Crea-Magee College, Derry].

1800. Hallelujah or the Christian Psalter; Vindicating the Propriety of Worshipping Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, collected from both the Old and New Testament, especially the latter. A Minister of the Gospel in connexion with the Evangelical Society of Ulster (Wm. Canning) 12mo. 60 pp. (Folds in sixes).
[M'Crea-Magee College, Derry, 3E. 11].

1800. The Dungannon Weekly Magazine. First number appeared 1st February, and it presumably ran for two years. Size 8¾ x 5¾. 16 pp., in double columns and wrapper, but folds in fours, and the imprint is "Dungannon: Printed by W. Canning."
(M'Crea-Magee College, Derry).

1807. The Ulster Chronicle. A weekly newspaper published by William Canning at his house in Dungannon on Thursdays. The issue probably commenced on the first Thursday of January, 1807. (See introductory note).

1809. On the Holy Principle, Origin and True Design of Freemasonry, Religiously and Operatively, to all good Masons under the Canopy of Heaven. John M'Cracken. 12mo. (Vide J. O'Daly's Sale Cat., No. 32, item 350).

1817. Poems. A. Duffy. (L. Richardson). (Vide Cotton's Typographical Gazetteer, Second Series p. 64).

1819. (William Canning, of the "Ulster Chronicle," Market Street). (Vide Newry Directory).

1819. "The Ulster Chronicle." Thursdays. Weekly. (Vide above; and Robson's London Directory).

1822. A Sermon preached at Coagh, before the Orangemen of Cookstown, Stewartstown, Coagh and Moneymore District, on the 12th of July, 1822. The Rev. David Evans. (L. Richardson, Market Street). 12mo., title leaf and 24 pp. Paper cover. (J. C. Crossle, Belfast).

1822. Same. (William Douglas, Castle Hill). 8vo., 24pp.
(M'Crea-Magee College, Derry).
Note—Another edition.

1823. An Essay on the Sanctification of the Lord's Day and the change of the seventh to the first day of the week. Samuel Alexander, Author of "The Logical Syntax," (Lewis Richardson, Church Street), 12mo., 12pp. Paper cover. (Trinity College, Dublin, 54 u. 621/-2)

1824. The Almanac Explained; being a compendious plain view of Astronomy, with some other parts of Natural Philosophy. The Rev. John Lowry, (William Douglas, Castle Hill). (The late Rev. Dr. Kinnear, Letterkenny). Rev. John Lowry was Presbyterian minister of Upper Clonaneese congregation in the vicinity of Dungannon, to which charge he was ordained in March, 1794. Prior to the above publication he wrote a pamphlet entitled "Christian Baptism" and printed and published by T. Mairs & Co., Belfast and one or two sermons. Mr. Lowry who was a very able and attractive preacher died on 18th April, 1846.

1824. The Ulster Chronicle. Weekly, Thursdays (William Douglas, Market Square). (Vide Pigot's Directory).
From at least 1820 onwards it must have been styled "The Ulster Chronicle

and Dungannon Advertiser." See note of Crown Bond No. 4537, introduction.

1825. A Treatise on Papal Supremacy containing a Refutation of that Doctrine. The Rev. R. N. Horner. (Wm. Douglas, Castle Street), 8vo. 44pp. (National Library (Joly) in bound pamphlets, vol. 819).

1825. Papal Supremacy vindicated ; in answer to a Pamphlet entitled " A Treatise on Papal Supremacy," lately published. By the Rev. J. Muldoon, R.C.C. (of Drumglass) (Wm. Douglas, Castle Street). 8vo., 122 pp. (R.I.A., Tracts, Box 4291-2. E. R. M'C. Dix).

1827. Sermon on the Death of His Royal Highness the late Duke of York, preached in the Church of Dungannon, January 14th, 1827, and Published by Request of the Congregation, The Rev. R. N. Horner. (Wm. Douglas, Castle Hill). 8vo. (9in. + 6in.), p. 1, title, verso blank ; p. 93 to 21 text ; p. 22 blank. (M'Crea-Magee College, Derry).

1840. (William Douglas, Market Square). (Vide " Commercial Directory, Derry).

1843. Fulton's Remarks on Mr. O'Neill Daunt's Speech at the Repeal Meeting in Dungannon, on Sunday, the 7th of August, 1843. (Wm. Douglas) 8vo. 16pp. (E. R. M'Dix).

1845. Woman : or Adela of England. A Poem in six cantos. (Wm. Douglas), 12mo. 108 pp. (J. S. Crone, John J. Marshall).

1846. (Wm. Douglas, Market Square). (Vide Slater's Directory).

1847. The History of Paddy Blake and Kathleen O'Moore, a Tale ; into which are introduced observations on Agriculture, Chemistry and various Subjects, compiled, etc., by a County Gentleman. (William Douglas), 8vo. 102 pp. (E. R. M'C. Dix, John J. Marshall) " A Country Gentleman " was almost certainly Edward Houston Caulfield, of Drumcairn, Stewartstown.

1853. The Sixth Report of the Dungannon Society for promoting Science, literature and the Arts. (William Douglas), 8vo., 16 pp. + paper cover (printed) (E. R. M'C. Dix ; Univ. Liby., Camb.).

1862. Eternal Punishment. A sermon preached in Dungannon Chapel. The Rev. Jas. Oliver. (William Douglas) 12 mo., 36 pp. + cover. (E. R. M'C. Dix.)

1873. Ye Hystorie of Ye Riot in Coalisland on Ye Twenty-fourth of June, Ye Year of our Lord, One Thousand Five (?) Hundred and Seventy-three, and Ye March of Ye Protestants in Ye Little Children's Defence. By John M'Cormick, Author of " Johnny Ross's Wake." (George Douglas, Market Square).
(Drumcairn (Stewartstown) Sunday School Fete, 24th June, 1873. Reprinted by Tyrone Printing Co., 1926.

1873. Financial Report of the Congregations in the Presbytery of Dungannon for the year ending 31st March, 1873. (Alexander Richardson). 8vo, 20 pp. (The late Rev. W. T. Latimer, D.D.).

1874. Do. 18 pp., 1875, do. 18 pp. ; 1876, Do. 18 pp. ; 1877, Do. 18 pp. ; 1878, Do. 20pp. ; 1879, Do. 24 pp. ; 1880, Do. 22 pp.

1880. January 10th to 1900. The Tyrone Courier, Thursdays, No. 1 etc. (A. J. Matthews, proprietor and publisher). (Brit. Mus-N.).

1881. Paddy-go-aisy, and the 3 F's, or a word of Warning to Alliterative Lawgivers. Ynyr H. Burges. 16mo. (Gladstone Library Catalogue, p. 108). Mr. Burges is also said to have published a pamphlet on ' Rev. Geo. Walker and Castlecaulfield,' which the writer has been unable to trace, an enquiry to Parkanaur having elicited no reply.

1881. Financial Report of the Congregations, etc. (A. Richardson and Sons), 22 pp. (late Rev. W. T. Latimer, D.D.).

1882. Same. (Do.) 24 pp. (do.)

1882. The Land Sub. Comm. Court, and the mode of Valuing Farms accurately described. (In verse). By an ex-Special Reporter. (Richardson and Sons, Church St.) 12mo., 24 pp.

1883. A Lecture on the Doctrine of the Plymouth Brethren. The Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., 8vo., 12 pp. (E. R. M'c. Dix.)
Note.—There is no local imprint, but the author certifies that it was printed by Richardson of Dungannon.

1883. Financial Report of the Congregations, etc. (A. Richardson & Sons) 24 pp.

(Rev. W. T. Latimer).

1884. Same. do. 24 pp. do.

1884. Baptism. The Mode and Subjects. By Rev. Jas. MacNeece, A.B., T.C.D. 3rd Edn. (Richardson & Sons), 8vo. pp. 48 [Rev. W. T. Latimer].

1885. Financial Report of the Congregations etc. (Richardson & Sons) pp. 24.

1886. Same. do. 24 pp. (do.).

1887. Same. do. 26 pp. (do.)

(188?) Genuine Recipes and Poems. David Wyley. 8vo. 34 pp. (The late R. Pillow).

1888. Financial Report of the Congregations, etc. (A. Richardson & Sons) 24 pp. (Rev. W. T. Latimer).

1889. Same. do. 24 pp. (do.)

1889. The Cookstown News (Vide Layton's " Handy Newspaper List).

1890. A History of the Congregation of Eglish. The Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A. (Printed at " The Tyrone Courier " Office), 8vo. 8 pp. (E. R. M'C. Dix, John J. Marshall).

1890. A Lecture on the doctrines of the Plymouth Brethren. Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A. Third Edition (Richardson). (Rev. W. J. Latimer).

1890. Financial Report of the Congregations, etc.(A Richardson & Sons) 26 pp.

1891. Same. do. 24 pp. do.

1892. Same. do. 26 pp. do.

1893. July 6th to 1900 No. 1 etc. The Dungannon News and County Tyrone Advertiser. (Brit. Mus.—N.)

1893. Financial Report of the Congregations, etc. (A. Richardson & Sons) 26 pp.

1893. How an Irish Non-Conformist views the Question of Home Rule, etc. By the Rev. Daniel Manderson, B.A., Minterburn Presbyterian Church, County Tyrone. Second edition. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$, pp. 32 in cover. (Richardson & Sons. (John J. Marshall).

1894. Financial Report of the Congregations, etc. 8vo. pp. 26. (A. Richardson & Sons).

1895. The Ulster Star. (John D. Crockett).

1896. A Further Impartial account of the Enniskillen Men (1688-9). By Captain Wm. M'Cormick. Edited by the Rev. W. T. Latimer. (Richardson & Sons) 8vo. pp. 4 + 54. (John J. Marshall, National Library).

1896. Financial Report of the Congregations, etc. (Richardson & Sons). 8vo. pp 24.

1897. Same. (MacIvor & Co.) 8vo. pp. 24.

1897 to 1911. Annual Reports. Secession Widows' Fund. 8vo demy. pp. 8 + cover (Tyrone Printing Co.)

1898. Plain Talk to Plain People—Compiled by an Armagh Clergyman. (Rev. Geo Wm. Lindsay, B.A.). (Richardson & Sons). 8vo. pp. 16. [Rev. W. T. Latimer].

1898. Financial Report of the Congregations etc. (Richardson & Sons). pp. 26

1899. Financial Report of the Congregations, etc. (" Tyrone Courier " Office).

1899. et. seq. The Dungannon News.

1900. The Financial Report of the Congregations in Dungannon Presbytery (Tyrone Printing Co.) Printed annually by Tyrone Printing Co., Ltd., down to 1928. Present size $7\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. pp. 31 + cover.

1901, 1902, 1904, 1905, 1906. Mission Hall for the Adult Deaf & Dumb, Belfast. Report (Tyrone Printing Co.).

1903. Rules and Fixtures of the South Derry and District Football Association. Season 1903-1904. (Tyrone Printing Co.) $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 12 + cover.

1905. Rules and Fixtures of the East Tyrone and District Football League. (Tyrone Courier " Office), $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 12 + cover.

1906. Financial Report of the Synod of Ulster Widows Supplementary Fund. 1905-1906. (" Tyrone Courier " Office), $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 12 + cover.

1907. Rules and Policy. Irish Legal Collecting Society (" Courier)" $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8$, pp. 6.

1907. Mission Hall for the Adult Deaf & Dumb, Belfast. Report. (Tyrone Printing Co.), 8vo. demy, pp. 60 + cover.

1908. Do. (Tyrone Printing Co.), 8vo. demy, pp. 52 + cover.

1908. Some Helps to Holy Living. By Dr. Elizabeth Beatty. (The Tyrone Printing

Co.), 4 x 3¼, pp. 16.

1909. Mission Hall for the Adult Deaf & Dumb, Belfast. Report. (Tyrone Printing Co.) 8vo. demy. pp. 52 + cover.

1909. Dungannon. An historical and Descriptive Sketch of the ancient and important town of Dungannon and vicinity, including some of the remarkable places of interest in Irish history. By Joseph Wherry. (Richardson & Sons). 8¼ x 5½, oblong, pp. 46 + 32 advts. + cover. Illustrated.

1909. Recollections and Reflections on The Revival of 1859. By the Rev. R. T. Simpson, M.A., Q.U.I. (Dungannon, with notes and additions. (Printed by The Tyrone Printing Company). 6¼ + 5½. pp. 58 with frontispiece and cover.

1909. Guide to Dungannon : an historical sketch of the town and adjacent places of interest. By James M'Guffin. (Tyrone Printing Co.) 7½ + 4¾ pp. 101 + 7 + cover.

1909. Armagh Gleaners Book. (Richardson & Sons). 6 x 4¾. pp. 64 + cover. Coloured borders.

1909. Grand Floral Bazaar. Handbook and Souvenir (in connection with Dungannon Methodist Church), 8¼ x 5½, oblong, printed on art paper in two colours. (Tyrone Printing Co.) pp. 112 + cover.

1910. Dungannon : An historical and descriptive sketch, etc. By Joseph Wherry. (Richardson & Sons). New edition revised and improved.

1910. Mission Hall for Adult Deaf & Dumb Report. (Tyrone Printing Co.), pp. 54 + cover.

1910. The Donacloney Birthday Book. (Richardson & Sons). 6 + 4¾, pp. 64 + cover. Coloured border.

1910. To the Members and Adherents of First Bangor Presbyterian Church. By Archibald Thomson. (No imprint but printed by The Tyrone Printing Co. 8½ x 5½, pp. 15 + 1 blank.

1910. County Tyrone Technical Instruction Committee. General meeting held 6th and 9th July, 1910. (No imprint, Tyrone Printing Co.) 8¾ x 6¼, pp. 5+ 3. blank.

1910. Dungannon Agricultural Association. Eighth Annual Show. Programme. (Tyrone Courier). 8¼ x 5½, pp. 8.

1911. Dungannon Union : List of Persons Relieved. . . during the half-year ended 31st March, 1911. ("Tyrone Courier" Office). Broadsheet, 20 x 15.

1911. Dungannon Rural District Council. Abstract of Accounts etc. for the half-year ended 31st March, 1911 ("Courier" Printing Works), 13¾ x 8¼, pp. 7 + 1 blank + cover.

1911. Counties of Tyrone and Monaghan. County Court Sittings for 1911 ("Tyrone Courier" Office). Broadsheet 16½ x 13½.

1910. Education and Church Going. An address to Catch-my-Pals. By J. C. Simpson. (Tyrone Printing Co.), 5 x 4, pp. 12 + cover.

1910. The Vico Birthday Book. (Richardson & Sons). 6 x 4¾ pp. 64 + cover. Printed in green.

1910. Maple Leaf Bazaar Book. (Richardson & Sons), 10½ x 7½, pp. 50 + cover.

1911. Alone in the World. By A. E. Greer. (Richardson & Sons). 7 x 4⅞ pp. 57 + 3 blank + cover.

1912. Secession Widows' Fund. (Tyrone Printing Co.) 8vo. demy, pp. 23 + cover.

1912. Rural District of Dungannon. List of Proposals to be Tendered for at an Adjourned Quarterly Meeting on Friday, 16th February, 1912 (Tyrone Printing Co.), 11½ x 8¾, pp. 15 + 1 blank + cover.

1913. Mr. Archibald Thomson's **Memorial** to the General Assembly, June 1911. **Address** to the General Assembly, June, 1913. **Address** In re First Bangor Visitation, May, 1913. **Letters** in connection with Memorial etc. (no imprint, Tyrone Printing Co.) 8½ x 5½, pp. 24.

1913. Report for the year ending 31st December, 1912. Mission Hall for Adult Deaf & Dumb, Belfast (Tyrone Printing Co.) 8 x 5¼, pp. 68 + cover.
Note—There is no imprint on the above report but it was printed as given.

1913. Lavery's Commercial Directory and Hotel Guide to Ireland. Published by George Lavery, 27, Donegall Place, Belfast (Richardson & Sons), pp. 783 + 43, Crown 4to.

1913. Dungannon Democrat and Nationalist Weekly. First issue 6th February 1913. Wednesdays, 8 pages 1d. Continued till December, 1923, when it ceased publication. At this time it was a four page paper of smaller size than the pre-war issue.

1914. Secession Widows' Fund, Annual Report. 8vo. demy, pp. 16 + cover. (Tyrone Printing Co.)

1917. R.S.D. Being the Magazine of the Royal School, Dungannon, half-yearly, 8½ + 5½, pp. 30 + 8 + cover. (Tyrone Printing Co.) (Three-colour wrapper by Strain, Belfast). The first number was issued in December, 1917. In course of publication.

1917. Second Annual Sale, County Cavan. Major Hamilton's Hereford Bull Calves, yearling and heifer calves, etc. (Richardson & Sons) 8½ x 5½.

1917. Parish of Moy (in the Diocese of Armagh). Annual Report for the year 1916-17. (Richardson & Sons). 7½ x 5.

1917. "Dungannon News" amalgamated with "Tyrone Courier." First joint issue 4th January, 1917.

1917. A History of the Congregations in the Presbytery of Dungannon. (Part I). By the Rev. W. T. Latimer, M.A., D.D. (The Tyrone Printing Co.), 10½ x 6, pp. 16.

1917. A History of the Congregations, etc. (Part II), (Tyrone Printing Co.), 10½ x 6 pp. 12.

1919. Recruiting Poems - published during the progress of the Great War, 1914-18 By J. [ohn] C. [harlton] (The Tyrone Printing Co.) 10 x 7½, pp. 14 + 2. blank, + cover, in three colours.

1919. The Battles of the Yellow Ford and Benburb. By the Rev. W. T. Latimer, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.A.I. (The Tyrone Printing Co.) 10 x 6½, pp. 14 + 2 blank.

1919. County Tyrone Grand Orange Lodge. Annual Report for the year ending 31st December, 1918. (Richardson & Sons), 7½ x 4½, pp. 32 + cover.

1919. Parish of Killyman. Subscribers to the Sustentation Fund and Curates Fund. Statement of Accounts for the year 1919 (Richardson & Sons), 6½ x 4½.

1919. Pomeroy Co.-Operative Agricultural and Dairy Society. The Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ending 31st December, 1918. (Richardson & Sons), 8 x 5½.

1920. Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet of Clonoe Co-Operative Agricultural and Dairy Society, Ltd., for the year ending 1919 (Richardson & Sons), 7½ x 5, pp. 12.

1920. Annals of Aughnacloy and of the Parish of Carnteel, Co. Tyrone. By John J. Marshall. (The Tyrone Printing Co.), 9½ x 7½, pp. 26 + 2 blank + cover.

1920. Life of William Kennedy. Poet, Journalist and British Consul, 1799-1872 By John J. Marshall (Tyrone Printing Co.), 4½ x 7, pp. 57 + 1 blank + frontispiece and cover.

1920? Dungannon Rural District Council. Specification for the Erection of Labourers' Cottages. (No imprint, Tyrone Printing Co.), 13½ x 8½, pp. 9 + 3 blank.

1920 ? British Legion, Dungannon Branch, Membership Card ("Courier") 3½ x 2½, pp. 14 + 2 blank + cover.

1921. Rural District of Dungannon. List of Applications to be laid before the Rural District Council at a Quarterly Meeting to be held on Friday, 14th January, 1921. (Tyrone Printing Co. Ltd). 10½ x 7, pp. 30 + 1 blank + cover.

1921. Dungannon Agricultural Society, Catalogue of Annual Show, etc. (Richardson & Sons), 8½ x 5½, pp. 60 + 2 blank + cover.

1921. History of Charlemont Fort and Borough in the County of Armagh and of Mountjoy Fort in the County of Tyrone. By John J. Marshall (The Tyrone Printing Co.), 8⅝ x 6, pp. 83 + 1 blank, frontispiece and cover.

1922. Financial Report of the Congregations of the Presbytery of Clogher, for the year ending 31st March, 1922. (Richardson & Sons), 8½ x 5½, pp. 40 + cover.

1922. List of persons who have taken out Dog Licenses in the Petty Sessions District of Moy, in the County of Tyrone, for the year ending 31st March, 1923. (Tyrone Printing Co. Ltd.). Broadsheet, 17½ x 22½.

1922. Byways in Bookland. By Joseph Marshall and John J. Marshall. (Tyrone Printing Co.) 7 x 4¾, pp. 100 + cover.

1923. Parish of Drumglass. Annual Statement of Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1922. (Richardson & Sons), 7¾ x 5, pp. 24 + cover.

1923. Parish of Killyman, Subscribers to Sustentation Fund and Augmentation Fund. Statement of Accounts for the year, 1922. (Richardson & Sons), 7 x 4¾, pp. 24 + cover.

1923. History of the Territory of Minterburn and town of Caledon (County Tyrone) By John J. Marshall (Tyrone Printing Co. Ltd.), 8¾ x 6, pp. 39 + 1 blank + cover.

1923. The Irish Protestant and Orange and Black Magazine. (Edited by Rev. Aston Robinson) (Tyrone Printing Co.), 10¾ x 8½, pp. 16 + cover.

1923. Dungannon Constabulary District Athletic Sports (Richardson & Sons), 7 x 4¾, pp. 18 + cover.

1923. **Memorial** to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland to meet 29th June, 1923. By Archibald Thomson, (No imprint, Tyrone Printing Co.) 8¾ x 5¾, pp. 15 + 1 blank.

1924. Royal School, Dungannon, Athletic Sports, Saturday, 24th May, 1924, (Tyrone Printing Co. Ltd.). 4¾ x 4, pp. 24 + cover.

1924. First annual Show and Sale of Pedigree Border Leicester Sheep. Catalogue. (Tyrone Printing Co.) Ltd., 8¼ x 5½, pp. 11 + 1 blank.

1924. The Irish Protestant, etc. Issued monthly. Ran for two years, then ceased publication.

1924, 1925, 1926, 1927. Parish of Killyman, etc. (Richardson & Sons), 7 x 4¾, pp. 20—24 + cover.

1924. Benburb: Its Battlefields and history; with an account of Blackwater fort and Coney Island. By John J. Marshall (Tyrone Printing Co.), 9 x 6, pp. 41 + 1 blank + cover.

1924. Dungannon (London: Vickery Kyrle & Co. Ltd.) 7¾ x 4¾, pp. 36 + cover. This is a little guide book to Dungannon and neighbourhood, interspersed with local ads.

1924. Popular Rhymes and Sayings of Ireland. By John J. Marshall. (Tyrone Printing Co.) 9¾ x 6. pp. 42 + 2 blank + cover.

1925. Annals of Aughnacloy and of the Parish of Carnteel, County Tyrone. Second edition re-written and enlarged. By John J. Marshall, 9¾ x 6, pp. 76 + cover. (Tyrone Printing Co.)

1925. Proceedings of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, February, 1921 till May, 1925, etc. (Tyrone Printing Co.) 8¼ x 5¼, pp. 12 + cover.

1925. Songs and Short Poems. By William Bullick (Richardson & Sons), 6½ x 4¼ pp. 56. The author belongs to Killyman district.

1925. Cathedral Parish of Clogher (County Tyrone). Annual Report with statement of Accounts. For year, 1924. Presented by Major Stewart, M.C. (Tyrone Printing Co.), 8¼ x 5¼, pp. 8 + cover.

1925. Twenty-seventh Annual Report of The Dungannon District Nursing Society Richardson & Sons), pp. 15 + 1 blank + cover.

1926, 1927. Do. do.

1926. Dungannon Musical Festival Association, Syllabus of Competitions. [Held May, 1926], (Tyrone Printing Co.) 8¾ x 5¾, pp. 20 + cover.

1926. Popular Rhymes and Sayings of Ireland. By John J. Marshall. Second series. (Tyrone Printing Co.) 9¾ x 6. pp. 46 + 2 blank + cover.

1926. Johnny Ross's Wake. (By John M'Cormick). Second edition. The first edition was probably printed by William Douglas, 1847-50 (Tyrone Printing Co.), 6¾ x 4, pp. 21 + 3 blank + cover.

1926. Ye Hystorie of Ye Riot in Coalisland, etc. (reprinted by Tyrone Printing Co.) 6¾ x 4¼. pp. 15 + 1 blank + cover.

1926. Parish of Ematris. Annual Report for the year 1925. (Richardson & Sons) 8 x 5, pp. 12 + cover.

1926. Ulster Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Dungannon Branch Annual report for the year 1925. (Richardson & Sons), 7 x 4¾, pp. 12 + cover.

1926. Proceedings of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1925-1926. (Tyrone Printing Co., Ltd.) 8¼ x 5½ pp. 15 + 1 blank + cover.

1927. Do. do. for year 1926.

1927. Irish Tories, Rapparees and Robbers; with some account of the lives and actions of the most notable. By John J. Marshall (Tyrone Printing Co.), 9¼ x 5⅞, pp. 68 + cover.

1927. The Doctrinal Decrees of the Council of Trent. By Francis J. Paul, M.A. D.D. (Tyrone Printing Co.), Printed for private use, 8 x 5¼, pp. 38 + 2 blank + cover.

1927. Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the County Monaghan Protestant Orphan Society (Richardson & Sons), 8¼ x 5½, pp. 28 + cover.

1927. Programme of Dungannon and District Constabulary Sports. (Richardson & Sons), 8½ x 5½, pp. 60 + 2 blank + cover.

1927. Parish of Tullaniskan (Diocese of Armagh), Annual Statement of Accounts for the year, 1926 (Richardson & Sons), 7¾ x 5, pp. 8 + cover. Illustration of Holy Trinity Church, Newmills, on cover.

1927. Dungannon Musical Festival Association, Programme and Book of Words (May, 1927) (Tyrone Printing Co.), pp. 38 + 2 blank + cover.

1927. Proceedings of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1926-7. (Tyrone Printing Co.), 8¼ x 5½, pp. 16 + cover.

1928. Fifty-sixth Annual Report of the County Monaghan Protestant Orphan Society (Richardson & Sons), 8¼ x 5½ pp. 3⅞ + cover.

1928. Parish of Tullaniskin and Clonoe (Diocese of Armagh), Annual Statement of Accounts for the year 1927 (Richardson & Sons), 7¾ x 4⅞, pp. 16 + cover.

1928. Annual Report for year 1926-27 Parish of Moy and Charlemont (Richardson & Sons), 8½ x 5½, pp. 16.

1928. Dungannon Musical Festival Association. Programme and Book of Words. (April, 1928) (Tyrone Printing Co.) 8½ x 5½, 38 + 2 blank + cover.

1928. Financial Report of Glendermott Presbytery for the year 1927. (Tyrone Printing Co.), 8½ x 6⅛, pp. 36 + cover.

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1928. The Tyrone Courier & Dungannon News Volume XII of joint issue. In course of publication.

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